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# Translation

FAITHFUL TO THE IDEAS OF THE PARTY

By

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## FAITHFUL TO THE IDEAS OF THE PARTY

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**ANNOTATION**

[Text] This book discusses the historic significance of the 26th CPSU Congress and reveals the tasks and methods of ideological and political-indoctrination work in the army and navy in light of the congress demands for further increasing the combat readiness of the USSR Armed Forces. It is intended for a broad readership.

**INTRODUCTION**

The 26th Congress of our Leninist party gave the Soviet people a mighty infusion of productive energy. Unwavering confidence in the triumph of Communist ideals and the atmosphere of businesslike efficiency and demandingness which characterized the proceedings of our party's highest forum presently determine the feelings, thoughts and deeds of Soviet citizens, including military personnel.

The congress convincingly demonstrated the indissoluble unity of party and people, the monolithic cohesion of workers, kolkhoz farmers, intelligentsia, army and navy personnel behind the party, which is unswervingly following a Leninist course toward communism. In his closing speech at the 26th CPSU Congress, Central Committee General Secretary Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev noted that since that time when the great Lenin founded our party, "it has been confidently advancing along the path of building socialism and communism, a path specified by Lenin."<sup>1</sup>

The 26th Congress is a landmark in the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet society. The congress constituted persuasive evidence of the fact that our party is continuing and developing the cause of the Great October Revolution, is consistently implementing the immortal Leninist ideals, and is carrying out in a worthy manner the role of political leader of the worker class and revolutionary vanguard of the entire Soviet people.

The congress of Soviet Communists will go down in history as a graphic demonstration of comprehensive strengthening of the principles of mature socialism in the economic, political and spiritual realms of the affairs of the Soviet people and the ever increasing influence of the party on the process of strengthening the economic and defense might of our state, on preserving and strengthening world peace. The Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress, presented by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, as well as other congress proceedings are exerting enormous influence on the minds of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world and are serving as an important stimulus in the struggle by progressive forces for peace, social reforms and socialism.

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The 26th Congress graphically demonstrated the unwavering faithfulness of the CPSU to Leninist ideals as well as the monolithic unity and cohesion of its ranks.

The body of congress delegates constituted living embodiment of the collective wisdom of the party, its will and energy. Communists sent to the congress the finest sons and daughters of the party. The almost 5000 delegates represented all classes, social strata and groups within the population, all nationalities and ethnic groups in the USSR. Our country's finest people, the cream of our society came together. All delegates have been recipients of USSR medals and decorations for meritorious services to the homeland, while 57 delegates bear the title Hero of the Soviet Union, and 670 -- Hero of Socialist labor.

Delegates came to the party congress from every corner of our great homeland. A total of 1370 delegates, more than at previous congresses, represented workers of socialist industry. They included persons who are producing the most modern machinery and equipment, who are turning out consumer goods, who are building housing and working on this country's main transportation arteries.

Agricultural worker delegates taking part in the work of the congress included chiefly farm machinery operators, combined production team leaders, and specialists in charge of brigades and departments. Almost one third of these are employed in livestock raising.

Congress delegates also included Communist members of the Armed Forces -- marshals, general officers and flag officers, commissioned officers, and warrant officers. Many of them fought heroically against the enemies of the socialist homeland during the years of the Great Patriotic War. As all army and navy Communists, they are dedicating their energy and knowledge to continuous improvement of the combat proficiency and political training of servicemen, improvement in the combat readiness of the Armed Forces, which are reliably guarding the peaceful labor of Soviet citizens and the achievements of socialism.

The congress took place under the lofty banner of proletarian internationalism. A total of 123 delegations of Communist, worker, national democratic and other parties and organizations from 109 countries took part in the congress proceedings. This is the broadest international representation in the entire history of CPSU congresses.

The outstanding significance of the 26th CPSU Congress lies in the fact that it enriched with new theses the theory and practice of building communism. The central event at the congress was Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's "CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Present Party Tasks in the Area of Domestic and Foreign Policy." This outstanding document of innovative Marxism-Leninism presents a profound scientific analysis of party domestic and foreign policy, our country's economic and social development, root problems of the contemporary era, and elaborates party strategy and tactics at the next successive stage of building communism.

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The congress also comprehensively examined the principal directions of CPSU activities pertaining to further strengthening the position of world socialism, deepening the world revolutionary process, and strengthening peace and the security of peoples. The Peace Program specified at preceding CPSU congresses was further developed.

The congress adopted with great enthusiasm and unanimously the resolution on the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report, voiced full approval of the Leninist course of policy and practical activities of the party Central Committee, and instructed all party organizations to be guided in their work by the points and tasks specified in the report submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The congress unanimously ratified the Basic Directions of National Economic and Social Development, emphasizing that implementation of an extensive program of constructive work in the new five-year plan constitutes a most important economic-political task of all party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organizations.

The congress adopted a decision to introduce changes and addition in the present CPSU Program. Noting that on the whole the current Program correctly defined the patterns and mechanisms of world social development, the goals and principal tasks of the struggle by the party and the Soviet people for communism, the 26th CPSU Congress instructed the party Central Committee to draft a new version of the Program, reflecting changes in the life and affairs of our society, the most important tasks pertaining to building communism, and changes in world societal development.

The congress elected a new CPSU Central Committee membership as well as other party central agencies. Top-level party agencies -- the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat -- were formed at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum held following the congress. Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, eminent continuer of the cause of V. I. Lenin and consistent fighter for peace and the happiness of peoples, was unanimously reelected general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Soviet citizens link with his name all achievements in increasing the economic and defense might of the homeland and the growth of its influence and prestige throughout the world.

The 26th CPSU Congress was held at the juncture of the 1970's and 1980's. Achievements in the last decade in all areas of our development were impressively demonstrated at the congress; existing reserve potential and possibilities were revealed, and effective measures were specified for their fullest and most efficient utilization.

Summarizing the accomplishments of the party and people, the 26th CPSU Congress at the same time comprehensively analyzed difficulties and shortcomings which hinder economic growth and concentrated attention on ways and means of correcting them. The main thing is to increase demandingness and to learn to work and manage more efficiently. "This lesson is not easily learned," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the congress. "But we Communists are persistent and purposeful people. We have set out on this road and shall not turn from it."<sup>2</sup>

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The congress examined current economic problems of the 1980's and the 11th Five-Year Plan. It strongly emphasized that the most important of these, which encompasses literally all areas of the economy, is the problem of completing the transition to a predominantly intensive path of development.

Within the framework of the principal directions and features of economic policy, the congress specified and analyzed a number of concrete problems which are of fundamental significance both for the 11th Five-Year Plan and for this new decade as a whole. A primary task is to utilize production potential more fully and efficiently. Our country is the world leader in many types of resources utilized in production. But at the same time there should be constantly present a feeling of responsibility for achieving full and economical utilization of these resources. Facts presented at the congress indicate that considerably more end products can be obtained from existing resources than is presently the case with more efficient and economical resource utilization.

The next problem is to ensure that all branches and sectors of the economy advance to the leading edge of science and technology. The party proceeds from the position that it is simply inconceivable to build a new society without science.

The congress noted that the task of improving supply of foodstuffs as well as consumer durables to the public is advancing to the forefront. In order to achieve a radical solution to this problem, it was acknowledged essential to elaborate a special food program, implementation of which will make it possible to accomplish on a tighter timetable the task of uninterrupted supply of foodstuffs to the population.

The conclusions of the party congress on social processes in the Soviet society constitute an outstanding contribution to the theory and practice of building communism. The leading trend in these processes is expressed in further rapprochement among all classes and social groups within the Soviet society. This is an objective process, an important role in which is played by the social policy of the party and state.

Questions connected with the development of socialist nations, strengthening internationalization, sequential drawing together of all Soviet peoples, and undeviating strengthening of their fraternal friendship were comprehensively examined at the party congress. The Leninist course of policy in this area ensures an increase in the material and intellectual potential of each brother republic, and at the same time its maximum utilization for harmonious development of the entire country.

This highest forum of the Leninist party devoted considerable attention to matters pertaining to improving the political system of our society, nationhood, broadening and deepening of democracy. Adoption of the new USSR Constitution has ensured even more active participation by working people in the affairs of state, and a combination of genuine individual rights and freedoms with civic responsibility.

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The 26th CPSU Congress was a most important event in international affairs. The wisest and most authoritative voice of our time -- the voice of the great party of Lenin -- rang out to the entire world with mighty force from the congress rostrum.

The congress specified the content and principal directions of CPSU foreign policy, which is based primarily on ensuring for the Soviet people the requisite conditions for accomplishing the tasks of construction which have been assigned to them. Primary attention was focused on development of the world socialist system. Agenda items fostering deepening and broadening of economic integration of the Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community as well as their cooperation in the political realm were elaborated. Theory and practice of socialist internationalism became enriched with new points and conclusions.

Questions pertaining to development of our relations with liberated countries were comprehensively examined at the congress. The Soviet Union always has been and will continue to be on the side of the forces of national liberation, fighters for national independence, against imperialism and reaction. It resolutely opposes relapses of colonialism and neocolonialism.

Our party's policy regarding the world Communist and worker movement is a truly class, internationalist policy. The 26th CPSU Congress analyzed current problems of the world Communist movement, articulated the position of Soviet Communists on the most important questions of the contemporary era, and emphasized our party's unswerving faithfulness to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Growth of the world revolutionary process is organically linked with intensification of the campaign for world peace and international security. A decisive contribution to this struggle is being made by the Soviet Union and the other brother socialist countries. They are firmly and consistently pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence between nations of differing social systems and a policy of holding the arms race in check.

In conditions where tension in the international arena has increased considerably at the beginning of the 1980's through the fault of imperialist forces, the Soviet Union is persistently continuing the struggle to end the threat of war, to preserve and deepen détente, and to hold the arms race in check. No other country in the world has presented in recent years, as the Soviet Union has done, such a broad spectrum of concrete and realistic initiatives and proposals on major international problems, particularly on matters pertaining to limiting the arms race and achieving arms reduction.

This congress of Soviet Communists displayed, in contrast to irresponsible and provocative statements by representatives of U.S. ruling circles, a genuinely wise, composed and considered approach. It was once again emphasized that we do not seek military superiority over the other side. That is not our policy. Nor will we allow others to establish military superiority over us. Such attempts, just as attempts to talk to us from a position of strength, are absolutely without prospect.



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The 26th Congress of the Leninist party signified a new stage in the persistent and consistent campaign by the Soviet Union to deepen détente, to hold the arms race in check, and to strengthen peace. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev advanced at the congress a number of new proposals and initiatives, which constitute an organic continuation and further development of the Peace Program applicable to the most vital, critical problems of international affairs today. They encompass a broad range of questions: the situation in Europe, in the Near, Middle, and Far East, in Africa, measures both of a political and military character. The new Soviet proposals pursue a single, unified goal -- to do everything possible to preserve world peace and to eliminate the threat of nuclear war.

The new initiatives and proposals advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress aroused keen interest and enthusiastic approval on the part of progressive minded people and on the part of millions of ordinary people in various countries throughout the world. Innovatively enriching the Peace Program, the congress raised even higher the prestige of the Soviet Union as a great champion of peace and cooperation among people and made a large contribution to the cause of unification and activation of all peace-seeking forces. As Comrade Fidel Castro stated from the speaker's stand, in a situation where the danger of war is arising once again, the Soviet Union and its glorious Communist Party once again embody the hope of peace.

The Leninist Party, waging a persistent campaign to achieve détente in the world arena and to hold the arms race in check, constantly maintains its attention focus on matters pertaining to reliable security of the Soviet Union. A unity of desire for peace and readiness to offer a decisive rebuff to any and all aggressors was bequeathed to us by the great Lenin and comprises the foundation stone of our military policy and Soviet military doctrine. It was emphasized at the 21st CPSU Congress: "In the period under review the party and state have not for a single day lost sight of questions pertaining to /strengthening this country's defense might and its Armed Forces/."<sup>3</sup>

The materials and resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress further developed and concretized the Leninist teaching on the party and on growth of its role in the affairs of Soviet society, including at the stage of developed socialism. From this proceed the necessity of further improving the methods of party leadership, intraparty affairs, ideological and political indoctrination work.

The servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces express filial gratitude and thanks to the Communist Party for everything it is doing to strengthen the economic and defense might of our homeland. Soviet servicemen assure the party that they will continue in the future to be faithful to its great ideals and will selflessly serve their people and party.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, page 219.
2. Ibid., page 37.
3. Ibid., page 66.

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**Chapter One. TRIED AND TESTED VANGUARD OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE**

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by the great Lenin, has traveled a glorious road of heroic accomplishments.

The successes of the Soviet people in building communism are inseparable from the titanic activities of the CPSU. "The 26th Congress has once again shown," stated CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a mighty, healthy, mature collective. Communists are the truly unbending core of our society, its living soul. They are a genuinely revolutionary vanguard of the people."<sup>1</sup>

The CPSU is a party of scientific communism. Armed by Marxist-Leninist teaching, it defines the general development prospects of society, the USSR course of domestic and foreign policy, and guides the productive activities of the Soviet people, giving a planned, scientifically substantiated character to the struggle for the triumph of communism.

Innovatively developing the all-conquering revolutionary teaching, the CPSU skillfully applies it in accomplishing the practical task of building communism in this country. The party itself is constantly growing and gaining in strength. In light of the achievements of developed socialism, the well-known Lenin formula "The party is the mind, honor and conscience of our era" takes on particularly vivid and profound resonance.

The 26th CPSU Congress comprehensively examined the vital questions pertaining to further development and improvement of party activities. At the present time it contains more than 17 million persons in its ranks. It is a smoothly operating, constantly developing sociopolitical organism, headed by the Leninist Central Committee. It has united around itself the entire Soviet people and is confidently leading them toward a common bright goal -- the building of a Communist society.

By its very nature the CPSU has been and remains the party of the worker class, which continues to occupy a leading position in all realms of life and affairs of the socialist state. Having secured the victory of socialism, it retains and is building on its inherent qualities of a creator-class and the decisive force of societal progress.

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It is quite natural that within the party workers occupy a position in consonance with the position of the worker class in our society and its progressive economic and sociopolitical role. During the period between the 25th and 26th CPSU congresses, more than one and a half million of the finest representatives of the worker class joined the ranks of the party, that is, 59 percent of total new party members. Today workers comprise 43.4 percent of the party's entire membership.

Our Leninist party is enlisting the progressive segment of the kolkhoz peasantry. Today kolkhoz farmers comprise 12.8 percent of all this country's Communists. The party takes into consideration the growing social role of the people's intelligentsia in development of the scientific and technological revolution, in an upsurge in the intellectual and spiritual standards of the people, and in accomplishing all the tasks of building communism. At the present time 43.8 percent of CPSU members are workers in science, technology, the arts, education, health services, culture, management and administration, and military personnel.

There is a continuous influx of youth into party ranks. Clearly reflected in this fact is the succession of generations of Communists -- custodians of the revolutionary spirit and glorious traditions of the Leninist party. Almost three-fourths of new party members in the last five years are products of Komsomol, who have experienced in Komsomol a school of political and moral conditioning.

In conditions of developed socialism, where the Soviet people comprise a historically new social and international community of people, the most important characteristics of the party's qualitative composition are the ideological conviction of Communists, their labor and civic activeness, professional skill and moral maturity.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is honorably carrying out its lofty historical mission as specified by V. I. Lenin -- "to guide and organize the new system, to be teacher, guide, and leader to all working people." Constituting the nucleus of our society's political system, the CPSU has constituted and continues to constitute its guiding and directing force.

**1. Leading the Great Building Process**

The forms of party guidance of all aspects of life of the developed socialist society are continuously improving and becoming enriched. Today there is no area of political, economic, cultural or military activity to which the party's guiding and organizing influence does not extend. Embodying the collective intelligence and creative will of our people, the CPSU organizes accomplishment of the diversified economic and social tasks of building communism, indoctrination of the new man, and constant improvement of the political system of the Soviet society.

But the role of leading force of society does not come automatically. "This role," noted comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his closing speech at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is earned and won in the course of a constant, unending struggle for

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the interests of the working people. And this role is strengthened by the fact that the party is constantly deepening its ties with the masses and is deeply committed to their needs and concerns."<sup>2</sup>

The solid unity of the people behind the CPSU is a fundamental trait of the life of Soviet society. Working people, placing boundless trust in the party, turn to it with an open heart on the most diversified matters, share their concerns with it, and criticize existing shortcomings. Quite logical is the fact that, together with the congress delegates, who totally and fully ratified the Leninist course of policy and practical activities of the CPSU Central Committee, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, this course of policy is approved by all Soviet citizens. The indissoluble unity of party and people and the people's boundless confidence in the party have been demonstrated to the world with renewed force.

The thousands of reports and messages of greeting pouring in to the congress were moving documents which vividly reflected this confidence, the feeling of gratitude on the part of Soviet citizens to the party for its tireless concern for the working man. People of the most widely diversified ages and occupations wrote about their pride in the successes of our socialist homeland and their joy in productive labor in the name of communism, as well as their willingness to fight vigorously to achieve the targets of the new five-year plan. Soviet servicemen sent many messages of greeting and reports to this highest forum of the Leninist party. They stressed the pride of the defenders of the homeland in their party and their willingness to dedicate all their energies and knowledge to successful execution of its plans.

The following words from the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU today resound in the languages and dialects of our multinational family of fraternal peoples, as an expression of the dedication of Soviet citizens to Communist ideals: "...We are optimists because we believe in our party and know that the path which it is pointing out to us is the only correct path!"<sup>3</sup>

Enhancement of the guiding and directing role of the CPSU in Soviet society at the state of developed socialism is a logical and objectively necessary process. It is dictated first and foremost by the unprecedented growth of the scale of tasks connected with building the material and technological foundation for communism; by the changes taking place in our society in its social structure and by improvement in societal relations; by changes in the political organization of this country; by development of socialist democracy, enhancement of the role of public participation in managing the affairs of state and production, and by an upsurge in the productive activity of working people; by the necessity of intensifying Communist indoctrination of Soviet citizens; by a vital need of further creative development of Marxism-Leninism; finally, by the complexity of solving acute international problems and ensuring conditions of peace for building communism.

/Direction of the economy is the main area of CPSU revolutionary-transforming activity./ It is here, in the realm of the economy, that is laid down the foundation for accomplishing social tasks, strengthening the nation's defense capability, and a vigorous foreign policy.

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In the last decade the Soviet people, under party guidance, have made substantial forward progress in all areas of building the material and technological foundation of communism. The USSR produces one-fifth of the world's industrial output. We produce more pig iron, steel, petroleum (including gas condensate), iron and manganese ore, as well as other raw materials than any other country. Agriculture has achieved high performance levels.

This country's productive forces have risen to a qualitatively new level. The scientific and technological revolution is expanding deeper and broader, changing the countenance of production and entire branches and sectors of the economy. Such modern industries as nuclear machine building, space technology, electronics and microelectronics, microbiology, laser equipment, manufacture of synthetic diamonds, as well as manufacture of other new synthetic materials have experienced further development or have been newly created.

Large changes have taken place in the distribution of productive resources. Gigantic combined programs which are transforming vast territories are being successfully carried out. They include development programs for Russia's Non-Chernozem zone, as well as commercial exploitation of the natural resources of Siberia and the Far East.

Housing construction has continued to advance at a rapid pace, and large-scale measures have been carried out in the area of boosting wages, pensions, benefits, etc. Consumer goods production almost doubled in the 1970's. This is persuasive evidence of the fact that the course of policy specified by the party is being unswervingly implemented.

At the same time the CPSU brought forth for discussion at the 26th Congress existing difficulties and bottlenecks. We did not succeed in achieving all stated goals, and not all ministries and enterprises achieved their plan targets. We have not yet fully overcome the inertia, traditions and customs which became established in that period when the quantitative rather than the qualitative aspect of things was advanced to the forefront. Today growth of the economy is inseparable from improving the quality of work performed and more efficient management.

Our society today possesses a powerful socialist industry and developed agriculture, which enables the party to formulate and accomplish tasks which our country could not have accomplished in the past. The party advanced and comprehensively substantiated a complex of measures ensuring in the 11th Five-Year Plan and the following period expansion of possibilities for harmonious satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of Soviet working people. Conditions will be improved for comprehensive development of the individual, for highly productive labor, for improving the health, rest and recreation conditions for citizens, development of education, science and culture -- all that which comprises the socialist way of life.

The "Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period up to 1990," drawn up by the CPSU Central Committee and ratified by the 26th Congress, embody continuity of the party's Leninist

course of policy and the firmness of its points of strategy. /"The main task of the 11th Five-Year Plan consists in ensuring a further improvement in the prosperity of Soviet citizens on the basis of a steady, forward development of the economy, acceleration of scientific and technology progress, and transition by the economy to an intensive path of development, more efficient utilization of this country's production potential, all-out economizing in all types of resources and improvement in the quality of work performed/."4

The party links successful accomplishment of this task with further development of the base branches of heavy industry and improvement of ratios within the economy. In the interests of increasing the manufacture of consumer goods, the current five-year plan specifies an acceleration in the rate of growth of branches of group B in comparison with those of group A. At the same time there will be an increase in the contribution of heavy industry to the manufacture of consumer durables.

Produce more, faster, cheaper, and better -- the 26th CPSU Congress also expressed this general call of the times in the concrete tasks assigned to all components of the agroindustrial complex. Its development, which is to implement the extensive foodstuffs program drawn up by the party, is an important element of today's CPSU agrarian policy. A distinctive feature of this policy is that principal efforts are concentrated on growth in productivity of agricultural production and on increasing return on capital investment in agriculture. Livestock raising is becoming a shock-work front on the farm.

It is planned to increase average annual agricultural production by 12-14 percent during this five-year period. All branches of agriculture will experience substantial development. Growth in production of grain and livestock feed as well as improvement in their quality will make it possible to increase the quantity of meat, milk, and other valuable food products.

As in the past, capital construction will be a focal area of special attention and concern by the party. It has been decided to channel capital spending, the volume of which is to be increased by 12-15 percent, first and foremost into the renovation and technical retooling of enterprises and into completion of previously-started construction projects. Heavy industry will occupy a priority position in the area of construction, and particularly development of our fuel-energy base, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and transportation.

Considerable concern has been focused on further improving territorial-production complexes, especially in the eastern regions. The enormous potential of our socialist economy makes it possible rapidly to carry out such large-scale programs as development of the Kansk-Achinsk, Bratsk-Ust'-Ilimsk, Pavlodar-Ekibastuz, Western Siberian, Sayan, and other territorial-production complexes.

The party is continuing its long-range policy of achieving a steady, comprehensive rise in the living standards of Soviet citizens. It is providing a combined approach to solving important socioeconomic problems of the developed socialist society, which affect all aspects of people's work, daily life and activities. A system of measures is to be carried out, aimed at creating the most favorable conditions for highly-productive labor, at intensifying the

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creative character of labor, and at achieving an all-out reduction of the area of application of unskilled manual and heavy physical labor, in which millions of persons are presently engaged in this country.

CPSU activities are totally subordinated to the interests of the social development of this country and the individual Soviet citizen. Increasing the capabilities of the economy, improving societal relations, and a steady rise in living standards are all focused on implementation of the program slogan "Everything for the sake of man, for the good of man." The party is advancing an extensive program for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the 1980's as a whole, providing for improvement of all aspects of the lives of the Soviet citizens -- conditions on the job and in the home, consumption and housing, culture and recreation. The percentage share of the consumption fund in national income is targeted to rise from 75.3 percent in 1980 to 77.3 percent in 1985.

Of course nothing comes free. Any improvement in living conditions can be achieved only through hard work by the Soviet people themselves. Mature socialism offers the most extensive opportunities for developing the abilities of each and every citizen. The point is to realize this potential. This is why the 26th CPSU Congress stressed that an important reserve potential in this regard is presented by a further upsurge in the labor activeness and initiative of the masses, development of socialist competition, and prompt dissemination and adoption of advanced know-how. More efficient utilization of this reserve potential will make it possible to implement the core congress guidelines in the area of party economic and social policy -- to achieve savings everywhere and in all things, a thrifty attitude toward public property, full and efficient utilization of everything we possess, everything which has been created by the hands and intellect of Soviet man.

"An economy should be economical -- this is a demand of the times."<sup>5</sup> Stressing this idea at the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed firm confidence that the plans specified at the congress will not only be fulfilled but overfulfilled as well. Everybody is capable of free, conscientious labor, labor for oneself and for one's people.

Effective measures have been specified for implementing the high-principled and concrete guidelines of the congress in the area of our country's economic development, measures directed toward improving management of the economy. The task consists first and foremost in increasing discipline and the personal responsibility of managerial personnel at all levels of management and administration for meeting state plans and targets. Associations and enterprises will become more independent on the basis of optimization of the organizational structures of management, and economic executives will be given broader authorities and greater responsibility.

Special attention was focused on improving the style of direction of the economy. As comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, "the point is to develop a work style which organically combines efficiency and discipline with bold initiative and enterprise, practicality and businesslike efficiency with striving toward lofty goals, a critical attitude toward shortcomings with firm confidence in the historical advantages of the path we have elected."<sup>6</sup>

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/In conditions of mature socialism the interlink between economic advance and development of the social-class structure of society and interethnic relations becomes increasingly more intimate./ CPSU social policy in conditions of developed socialism actively promotes effacement of the considerable class differences, differences between city and village, intellectual and physical labor, and fosters comprehensive development and drawing together of all nationalities and ethnic groups in the USSR. Our goal is to build a society in which people will not be divided into classes. And we can state quite definitely that we are slowly but surely advancing toward this goal. Drawing together of all classes and social groups in our society continued in the 1970's.

The worker class is playing an increasingly more paramount role. Year by year its numbers are growing, as is its ideological-political maturity and labor activeness. The worker class today totals approximately 80 million persons -- two thirds of the gainfully employed population. The general educational level of Soviet workers and their level of occupational training are rising. The worker's labor is increasingly becoming filled with intellectual content.

Differences between the worker class and the kolkhoz peasantry, caused by the existence in this country of two forms of socialist ownership -- ownership by the entire people, and cooperative -- are gradually disappearing as productive resources continue to grow. The number of machinery operators and other workers involved with advanced technology is continuing to rise in our rural areas. The number of kolkhoz farmers with secondary (complete and partial) and higher education increased from 39 to more than 60 percent in the last decade.

Rapid growth of the intelligentsia is one of the most important social changes in our society. Today one out of every four employed persons is involved primarily with intellectual labor. Not only in science, education, and culture, but in material production as well the intelligentsia is playing an increasingly more significant role. It is important to emphasize this factor, for it shows that favorable conditions have been created in this country for accomplishing one more of the vital tasks specified at the 26th CPSU Congress -- to boost all branches and sectors of the economy to the cutting edge of science and technology. It is a demand of the times to secure a close integration between science and production, to incorporate the latest scientific ideas in equipment and technology within the shortest period of time and at the least cost.

The resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress contain a profound analysis of the processes which characterize the development of ethnic relations in our country. The unity of Soviet nationalities and ethnic groups is stronger today than ever before. Their development and drawing together are accelerating in the conditions of mature socialism. The Leninist party's course of policy in this area ensures growth of the material and intellectual potential of each republic and, at the same time, their maximum utilization for harmonious development of the entire country. Resources are being brought into circulation in a planned manner, efficient specialization and comprehensive development of the economies of the republics are being ensured, and there is occurring a

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deepening exchange of the latest scientific and technological advances and advanced know-how.

This does not signify, however, that all problems have been resolved in the area of ethnic relations. The dynamics of development of such a large multinational state as the USSR engenders many problems which require attention. The party opposes tendencies toward artificially doing away with specific ethnic features, but it considers artificial exaggeration of these features equally intolerable. The CPSU sees as its duty the indoctrination of working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, a proud feeling of belonging to the great, unified Soviet homeland.

The congress resolutions deeply and comprehensively examine questions pertaining to strengthening the material and spiritual foundations of the socialist way of life and formation of the new man. During the period of developed socialism there is occurring completion of reorganization of all societal relations on the collectivist basis which is internally characteristic of the new system. This reorganization encompasses the material and spiritual realms, our entire tenor of life.

The 26th CPSU Congress comprehensively analyzed the question of improving distributive relations in conditions of developed socialism. It stated the aim of achieving consistent implementation of the principle of conformity between quantity and quality of labor and consumption, as well as active, purposeful forming of the interests and reasonable needs of the individual.

/The 26th CPSU Congress stated tasks in the area of further improvement of the political system./ The activities of the highest agencies of authority -- the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of the republics -- became appreciably stepped up with adoption of the new USSR Constitution. Much of interest appeared in the activities of local /soviets of people's deputies/ [it.].

Now the goal is to link more closely improving legislation, management and verification. Three areas are advanced as primary: administration of the nation's economy, implementation of the constitutional rights of citizens and public organizations, and completion of promulgation of national consolidated statutes.

The congress focused /public oversight/ [it.] [narodnogo kontrolya] agencies toward more vigorous, more aggressive activities, as this is an essential component part of our Soviet democracy. Attention was focused on the necessity of continuing to enhance the role of the most mass public organization, the Soviet /trade unions/ [it.]. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated in his report at the 26th CPSU Congress that the party views them "as its reliable support in the masses, a powerful means of development of democracy and involvement of working people in building communism."<sup>7</sup>

The activities of /Lenin Komsomol/ [it.] were highly praised by the congress. At the same time Komsomol was assigned the task of even more effectively promoting the formation in the younger Soviet generations of political

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activeness, love of labor, and willingness to defend one's homeland. In the area of correcting deficiencies in the work of Komsomol organizations, primary emphasis is placed on intensification of the labor, moral and ideological-political indoctrination of young boys and girls.

The 26th CPSU Congress stipulates consistent implementation of the party's guiding and directing role and successful accomplishment of tasks in the area of this country's economic and social development by means of further organizational and ideological unification of party ranks and more vigorous party work in all areas of building communism. A close tie between central party agencies and its lowest-level components, support of creative initiative on the part of party organizations, and attention toward local experience -- the party follows Lenin's behests in all these areas. The richer and more diversified local experience is, the more fruitful are party activities as a whole.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report especially emphasized the need of continuing in the future to enhance the role of republic, kray, oblast, district, city and rayon party organizations and their responsibility for carrying out the concrete and high-principled congress guidelines. Energetic and competent party direction of the economic and societal affairs of the kray, oblast, city and rayon is of decisive significance in achieving stated goals.

A paramount role should be played by primary party organizations, which carry out the party's direct link with the party-unaffiliated masses. There are a total of 414,000 primary and 457,000 shop party organizations, as well as more than 618,000 party groups -- that reliable system through which the party Central Committee mobilizes all working people for carrying out the grandiose-scale tasks of building communism. Therefore one congress demand is maximal activation of the work of these low-echelon CPSU entities.

Party cadre policy serves as a powerful means of increasing the aggressiveness of party organizations. Much has been done to improve the qualitative composition and placement of executive cadres. At the same time Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report contained clear-cut guidelines for local party agencies to achieve further improvement of work in this area. It is necessary to improve the political training of young cadres coming into the party edifice from production. He also pointed to the necessity of promoting to party executive jobs those comrades who know from personal experience the needs, requirements and interests of workers, peasants, and intellectuals.

Party cadres are focused on Leninist businesslike efficiency in their daily work. The Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress plainly states that the skill of leadership consists in ensuring strict implementation of adopted decisions within the specified timetable. Systematic and efficient oversight, exercised simultaneously from above and below, and verification of execution should help establish businesslike efficiency and eliminate the bureaucratic style of leadership.

As was emphasized at the congress, leadership style and methods are a matter of importance to the entire party and the entire people. And resolution of

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this problem is to be found in rigorous observance of Leninist standards of party affairs. Democratic centralism should ensure the closest bond between party executive agencies and the party masses. The flow of intraparty information should become even more effective, and working people should be more fully informed on party affairs, which is an effective means of strengthening ties between the CPSU and the masses. There is also to be further development of criticism and self-criticism and all-out establishment of a spirit of self-criticism and implacability toward shortcomings in all party organizations.

Fulfillment of the demands imposed by the 26th CPSU Congress on the work style and methods of Communists among the worker masses and on organization of intraparty affairs will objectively promote a further increase in the party's prestige among our people. Today more and more people are desirous of joining its ranks. The CPSU, however, is not forcibly pushing its numerical growth. The approach to new candidates for party membership is demanding in a Leninist manner. The political, professional and moral qualities of each individual who has made the decision to link his future with that of the Communist vanguard of the Soviet people are thoroughly examined during the term of probationary membership.

The necessity of increasing demandingness on each and every Communist was once again stressed at the congress. The party is implacable toward those who violate the CPSU Rules and party moral standards. The party fervently protects the purity of its ranks in a Leninist manner and makes no concessions whatsoever in regard to its honor and prestige. Monolithically cohesive, armed by the all-conquering teaching of Marxism-Leninism, and united by indissoluble bonds with the entire people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union mobilizes Soviet citizens for the accomplishment of great feats, for carrying out the responsible and complex task of large-scale building.

## 2. Decisive Source of the Might of the Army and Navy

While concentrating efforts on the problems of building communism, the party does not lose sight of matters pertaining to strengthening the nation's defense might, the fighting efficiency and combat readiness of our Armed Forces. It is obliged to do so by the present international situation, a scientific analysis and class appraisal of which were presented with extreme clarity by the 26th CPSU Congress. The Soviet people need peace in order to build communism and for productive labor. Expressing the interests of the broadest masses of working people, the 26th CPSU Congress examined ways to ensure world peace. Of exceptional importance are the realistic proposals advanced in the report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, which include measures to strengthen trust in the military area, to limit and reduce strategic arms.

The new Soviet proposals are particularly important in present-day conditions when, through the fault of the aggressive forces of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, clouds have gathered thickly on the international horizon.

The 26th CPSU Congress revealed the deep-lying reasons for the increased aggressiveness of imperialism. One of these is further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. Inflation has assumed an unprecedented scale

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in the world of capital, production is diminishing, and unemployment is growing. Social reforms, with the aid of which ruling circles would seek to cool the temperature of the class struggle, are failing.

The growing economic social difficulties are making the policies of the imperialist nations increasingly more reactionary and aggressive. The most militant imperialist circles are endeavoring to resolve their conflicts by means of adventurism, by preparing for war, by willingness to gamble the vital interests of mankind for the sake of selfish aims.

NATO military bloc leaders, headed by Washington strategists, are undertaking unceasing efforts to tilt the present world military balance in their own favor. Under pressure exerted by the White House and the Pentagon, decisions were adopted in the NATO countries additionally to increase annual military expenditures. In the United States, the leaders of which are once again laying claim to world domination, a military program has been drawn up which specifies a substantial increase in the combat capabilities of the armed forces. The "new conception of defense of Western Europe" is also an aggressive doctrine. It forms the basis of the NATO decision to deploy in the countries of Western Europe U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missile weapons.

Under the screen of a propaganda campaign around the myth of "Soviet military threat," imperialist forces are stepping up their policy of gross interference in the internal affairs of other countries -- in the Near and Middle East, in the Indian Ocean region, in Southeast Asia and Latin America. Militant politicians in the U.S. are declaring entire regions, rich in raw material resources, to be a zone of U.S. "vital interests." For "protection" of these regions they are expanding the network of military bases, are seeking to establish new aggressive blocs, and are forming "rapid deployment forces" endowed with gendarme functions.

With the aim of diverting the attention of the world community away from U.S. military preparations, the U.S. Government has embarked upon a hypocritical, slanderous campaign of accusing the Soviet Union of complicity in "international terrorism," a label which it provocatively attaches to all present-day revolutionary-liberation movements. Washington seeks to discredit the peace-seeking policy of the USSR and to distort the essence of national liberation movements. Under the pretext of combating "Marxist terrorists" which they themselves have invented, the imperialists seek to untie their hands for intervention in the internal affairs of other nations.

The military-political rapprochement of the United States, Japan, and China on an anti-Soviet foundation is assuming an increasingly dangerous character for the fate of the world. Taking part in this criminal conspiracy, the present Beijing leaders seek to carry out their great-power chauvinist schemes, as is attested by their intrigues directed against neighboring countries. Japanese militarism is rearing its head.

While consistently defending the cause of peace, that is, carrying out today's most important international task, the CPSU maintains constant vigilance in respect to the intentions and actions of militant reaction. Thanks to the solicitude of the party and the entire people, the Soviet Army and Navy possess

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everything they need for reliable defense of the homeland and the achievements of socialism. "A solid fusion of a high level of technical equipment, military expertise and indomitable morale," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the congress, "constitute the combat potential of the Soviet Armed Forces."<sup>8</sup>

Working persistently to carry out Lenin's behests on defense of the socialist homeland, the party is exercising a leadership role in military organizational development and is specifying the basic guidelines which the state is following in defense policy. Party activities pertaining to direction of the Soviet Armed Forces encompass a broad range of problems. They include elaboration of the theoretical foundations of Soviet military organizational development, including military doctrine, an aggregate of measures pertaining to technical equipment of the army and navy, training, placement and efficient utilization of command, political and engineer-technician cadres, performance of party-political work, development of the basic principles of organization of troop combat training, and improvement of the system of preparing military-trained reserves. The CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, are tirelessly concerned with further increasing the combat potential of army and navy.

/The most important direction of emphasis in implementing CPSU military policy is further development and strengthening of the material-technological foundation of the defense capability of the Soviet State and the combat power of its Armed Forces./ Scientific leadership by the party ensures optimal utilization toward these ends of the capabilities of the socialist societal system, the socialist economic system, and the achievements of the present scientific and technological revolution.

This is persuasively attested by the proceedings and resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress. A high rate of development of the key branches and sectors of our economy in the 11th Five-Year Plan is a guarantee of further increase in the economic might of the homeland, increased prosperity of the working people, and a guarantee that the army and navy will continue to meet today's demands in regard to furnishing with combat equipment and weapons.

The CPSU also proceeds in its activities pertaining to strengthening this country's economic potential from the necessity of reliably securing the defense capability of the Soviet State. Our defense expenditures are induced by the danger proceeding from the imperialists and are a forced response to their military preparations. We spend on defense as much as is necessary for defending peace and socialism against our enemies.

Thanks to the growing capabilities of the socialist economy, advances in Soviet science and technology, and the selfless labor of the people, the army and navy receive everything they need in order to maintain a continuous state of combat readiness. Feeling legitimate pride in the technical equipment of the Armed Forces, Soviet servicemen give due credit to the labor of our workers, kolkhoz farmers, scientists, designers, and engineers. It is precisely their intellect and hands which have built first-class rockets, tanks, aircraft, and warships, which today enable us reliably to defend our country and, if it becomes necessary, to launch swift and devastating response attacks against an aggressor.

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In connection with deepening of the scientific and technological revolution, which also affects military affairs, the military-technical aspect of the party's defense policy is assuming an increasingly more independent character. Science is becoming transformed into a direct factor of Armed Forces combat power, and utilization of scientific and technological advances for strengthening nation's defense capability is assuming vital importance.

The party concentrates its efforts on accelerating the development of basic and applied science, on satisfying long-range and current requirements of technology, prompt and priority implementation of scientific advances by means of their practical incorporation. With this statement of the question by the 26th CPSU Congress, work in those areas of scientific and technological advance which meet the needs of national defense naturally will also experience adequate acceleration.

One object of constant party concern is development of Soviet military science which, together with practical military activities, determines the paths of improvement of weaponry, the forms and modes of conduct of warfare. Military-scientific cadres are focused by the party on further deep cognition of the character of today's war, if imperialism unleashes a war, modes of conduct of combat operations, and principles of employment of the various uniformed services and combat arms.

/Together with development of this country's economic and scientific-technological potential, the party also takes into consideration that enormous role which is played by the sociopolitical capabilities of our society in strengthening the defense might of the homeland./ Maturity of societal relations, the ever increasing drawing together of classes and social groups, nationalities and ethnic groups, vigorous consolidation in the masses of Communist ideology, socialist patriotism and internationalism, and a feeling of overall national pride on the part of Soviet citizens -- all these processes directly affect strengthening of the defense might of the Soviet State. They cause internal cohesion of labor and military collectives and comradely interrelationships among military personnel.

Improvement of sociopolitical relations leads to further strengthening of the social base of providing the Armed Forces with replacement personnel. A beneficent effect is exerted on this process by growth of the worker class and an increase in its percentage share in the country's overall population. At the present time more than two thirds of military personnel in active service were employed in industry, transportation, construction and agriculture prior to induction into the military; the remainder were white-collar employees and students.

The increase in representation of the worker class in the army and navy is accompanied by a strengthening of organization and order in military units and on naval ships, an improvement in the morale and cohesion of servicemen. A transition to compulsory universal secondary education and implementation of CPSU decisions in the area of specialized education are helping furnish the Armed Forces with conscripts possessing a higher level of ideological-political conditioning, intellectual and physical development. Today it is difficult in

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any military collective to distinguish representatives of the worker class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia on the basis of general educational and cultural level.

The social policy specified by the 26th CPSU Congress for the 11th Five-Year Plan and beyond will ensure further strengthening of the unity of army and people.

/The solid ideological-political unity of society is a most important source of the growth of the combat might of the Armed Forces./ Indoctrinated by the party, Soviet citizens are ardent patriots and internationalists. A new, socialist type of individual has formed in this country during the years of building communism, a person who combines Communist ideological conviction and enormous vital energy, cultural sophistication and knowledge, and the ability to apply them.

These qualities of the Soviet citizen also ennoble the countenance of the Soviet serviceman, a full-fledged citizen of this country, who is responsible for the fate of the homeland and socialist achievements. Duty and calling, rights and obligations, the lofty qualities of patriot and internationalist have merged in his consciousness into a unified whole.

Under the influence of our socialist realities and active ideological work by the party, there is formed in servicemen the ability to see in their daily duties great national significance, a striving to improve combat skill day by day, to carry out skillfully and with honor the lofty civic obligations of the defender of the homeland and the brother socialist countries.

Rigorous observance of Leninist principles of leadership constitutes a guarantee of successful implementation of the complex aggregate of items pertaining to strengthening this nation's defense, which proceed from the resolutions and proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress. The most important of these is /unity of political and military leadership of the Armed Forces./

The Communist Party is innovatively developing this principle. This finds vivid expression in the activities of the USSR Defense Council, headed by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mar SU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The principle of unity of political and military leadership presupposes harmonious, cooperative work in military units by commanders, political workers, party and Komsomol organizations, as well as a unity of their ideological and organizational activities. Indissolubility of word and deed is a law governing the activities of every leadership-echelon military official. The commander is a combat leader and indoctrinator of his men. The political worker in turn is an organizer of servicemen in the area of accomplishing tasks of political training, mastering equipment, and strengthening observance of regulations and military discipline.

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The party strictly adheres to the principle of /scientific character/ in Armed Forces leadership. It arms cadres with Leninist methodology of cognizing and solving problems of defending the achievements of socialism and teaches one to analyze the entire aggregate of phenomena characterizing the correlation of class forces in the world, the interrelationship between war and politics, and the interdependence of factors which ensure a decisive defeat of any aggressor.

The level of scientific character of military leadership is manifested at all echelons of our military organization. At the level of the unit, warship, and subunit, we are dealing with the ability of officer personnel innovatively to approach determination of the most correct ways of teaching and indoctrinating servicemen, taking into account new trends in development of military affairs. As proceeds from the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress, today creativity and innovation is the standard of activity of commanders and political workers.

/Centralism/ is an important principle of Communist Party leadership of the Armed Forces. The army is a special agency of the state, the strength of which lies first and foremost in firm organization and in the strictest subordination of many individuals to the will of one person. In present-day conditions an army's ability to withstand and win will depend in large measure on how quickly troops execute combat orders.

The strictest subordination of lower-echelon army and navy control agencies to higher-echelon agencies, of subordinates to superiors, and unswerving implementation of one-man command is a most important principle of leadership in the Armed Forces. Only on the basis of centralized leadership can one achieve unity both in understanding military tasks and in their practical execution. Centralism in leadership ensures fullest utilization of the capabilities of the socialist system for concentrating the country's manpower and resources for armed defense of socialism.

The Soviet one-man commander is a representative of the party and state and bearer of their policy in the Armed Forces. He bears personal responsibility to the Communist Party and Soviet Government for the continuous combat and mobilization readiness of the troops entrusted to his care, for combat and political training, indoctrination, military discipline and the political-moral state of personnel, for the condition of weapons and combat equipment. Whatever position a commander holds, the most important thing in his activities is implementation of party policy. Herein lies the essence of the party principle of Soviet one-man command. Ideological and moral maturity, competency, a high degree of responsibility to society and the collective, unity of demandingness and sensitivity toward others, and concern for one's subordinates -- these qualities of our commanders ensure constant strengthening of one-man command.

All factors which as an aggregate ensure a high degree of Armed Forces combat power, ensure that they are furnished with modern weapons and combat equipment, ensure increased political awareness, field, sea and air proficiency of personnel, and level of troop control and control of naval forces are improved on

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the basis of CPSU policy and decisions in the area of strengthening the defense of the state.

Unity of material and spiritual factors in war was always of decisive significance. Not one of these factors can be diminished without detriment to the combat potential of the Armed Forces. This potential comprises not a simple sum of technical equipment, military expertise, and indomitable morale, but a solid fusion of these factors. Thus indoctrination and training of servicemen is placed alongside furnishing units and warships with modern weapons and combat equipment. This stresses the increased responsibility of commanders, political agencies, party and Komsomol organizations for maintaining excellent morale in the army and navy.

When we speak of high morale, we have in mind primarily the aggressive, "active" aspect of the spiritual resources of the army and navy, that is, concentrated expression of the mobilizing role of people's Communist ideology and morality, their patriotism and internationalism, heroism and courage, discipline and comradeship. We are dealing in the final analysis with the degree of strength of fighting spirit of the Armed Forces in conditions of peace and war.

In the practical realities of life troop morale is correctly equated with the political-moral state of troops, which emphasizes the decisive role of political ideas, knowledge, moral feelings and attitudes in the spiritual resources of the army and navy. During the war years the Soviet command authorities, as we know, always took into consideration the political-moral state of personnel and assigned the most critical combat missions to the staunchest units and combined units, which possessed particularly high fighting spirit.

Thorough assimilation of Lenin's ideas on defense of the socialist homeland, CPSU policy aims and tasks, and an understanding of the objective necessity of continuous Armed Forces combat readiness are most important spiritual stimuli for improving comprehensive personnel proficiency, vigilance, discipline and organization of troops and naval forces.

Successful troop leadership presupposes consideration of all components of the moral factor, which includes both socioideological and sociopsychological elements. The former most fully reflect the political goals and tasks of building and defending communism and theoretical views, while the latter most fully reflect public opinion, traditions, habits and conceptions which form under the direct influence of conditions of service and combat activities. Therefore of importance in improving personnel morale is regular monitoring both of the ideological training of servicemen and the attitude of the collective, which makes it possible to maintain troop morale at a high level, ensuring accomplishment of any and all combat tasks.

### **3. Powerful Weapon of the Party**

In light of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, increased demands are being placed on party-political work in the army and navy. It comprises a

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most important direction of the diversified CPSU activities pertaining to leadership of the Armed Forces.

Party-political work comprises scientifically substantiated ideological and party-organizer activities on the part of military councils, commanders, political agencies, and party organizations pertaining to implementing Leninist party policy in the Armed Forces, indoctrination of the personnel of units and naval ships in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and their mobilization for accomplishing the tasks assigned to the armed defenders of the homeland. It includes a broad range of items pertaining to all aspects of training and performance of duty, the daily activities of Soviet servicemen, their moral-political and psychological training. Calling upon the men to carry out party demands in the area of defending the socialist achievements of the people, army and navy Communists firmly follow V. I. Lenin's statement that preparation of our country for defense demands not a burst of enthusiasm but "protracted, intense, persistent and disciplined work on a mass scale."<sup>9</sup>

The content and principal directions of party-political work in the army and navy are today entirely determined by the tasks assigned to the Armed Forces by the 26th CPSU Congress. The main attention of commanders, political agencies, party and Komsomol organizations, and all personnel is presently concentrated on study and implementation of the congress resolutions, the points and conclusions contained in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the congress.

Inherent in party-political work are mechanisms proceeding from the general patterns of development and activity of the Communist Party, its tasks, and improvement of general party organizational development. They are an expression of the substantial, firm links between the phenomena and processes characterizing the development of army and navy affairs, activities of commanders, political agencies, party organizations, and service activities of personnel. The 26th CPSU Congress, at which Leninist teaching on the party experienced further innovative development, armed us with scientific methodology of political influence on accomplishment of the tasks of combat training, strengthening discipline, indoctrination and training of personnel.

/The principles of party-political work/ are most important elements of this methodology. They include a class approach to appraisal of events and phenomena of societal affairs and party-mindedness of training and indoctrination of personnel; unity of ideological, political-indoctrination and organizational activities; a close link with the practical building of communism, with affairs of party and nation, and with the missions of the Armed Forces; a harmonious combination of public, class, group and personal interests; internationalism; the ability to concentrate main efforts on carrying out the principal task; concreteness and purposefulness, continuity and efficiency; activeness.

/Communist party-mindedness,/ as a leading principle of party-political work, enables one to determine with scientific precision and rigorous objectiveness the principal goals and tasks of indoctrination of Armed Forces personnel and to give it a correct ideological orientation, deep ideological content, and

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sharp political thrust. This principle requires that one proceed at all times and in all things, when evaluating facts, events, phenomena and processes taking place in societal affairs and the military, from the interests of Soviet people and the tasks of building communism, from consideration of the acute class, ideological struggle in the international arena, "that we conduct /our own/ [it.] policy and combat /the entire policy line/ [it.] of hostile forces and classes."<sup>10</sup>

From the very first days of existence of the Soviet Army and Navy, party-political work in the military has been conducted from the position of the worker class -- our society's progressive, leading force. Today, in conditions of developed socialism, it is being carried out in conformity with the interests of the entire Soviet people. The entire content of party-political work is constructed in precise conformity with the resolutions of Leninist party congresses and decrees of the party's Central Committee, which express the interests of all classes and social groups in our society and the interests of the entire people.

Proceeding from the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress are demands of further increase in the effectiveness of party-political work in the army and navy and strengthening of its link with the affairs of our nation and the tasks being performed by personnel. The strength of our military organization lies in the fact that it is guarding the interests of the people, is closely bound to the people, and that the successes of the army are inseparable from the successes of the people. The serviceman should be deeply cognizant that communism is both his public and vital personal cause, which he serves and which he is obliged to defend; it is also a material expression of his faithfulness to the ideals of the party.

/Concreteness and purposefulness/ of party-political work give it an aggressive character and impel one to approach the phenomena of societal affairs comprehensively and to conduct work in the masses in a skillful manner. "...Party slogans and programs live in the activities of the masses,"<sup>11</sup> Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed at the congress.

Today constructing party-political work concretely and purposefully means, first of all, to proceed from the tasks assigned by the 26th CPSU Congress. Secondly, it means taking into account the international military-political situation and the tasks which proceed from it. Third, it means taking into consideration the specific features of the present stage in development of the Armed Forces and the changes which are taking place in their technical equipment, personnel, system of training and indoctrination, and seeking to ensure conformity between the content of party-political work and the tasks of comprehensive training of troops and naval forces.

The party teaches us to conduct party-political work /continuously and flexibly,/ skillfully to choose and employ means, forms, and methods of influencing the consciousness of personnel, skillfully to organize and mobilize them for accomplishing the tasks of combat readiness of subunits, units, and warships. Party-political work is conducted in any and all situations. The more complex, intensive and dangerous the situation is, the stronger should be political influence on the serviceman masses.

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The experience of political work during the years of the Great Patriotic War is instructive. Continuity and a high degree of flexibility of political influence on military personnel were achieved at that time by prompt formulation by commanders and political agencies of the tasks of political work in organizing for combat and in the course of combat operations; by correct determination of work forms and methods and by their skillful combination and innovative application in conformity with the developing situation and combat missions being performed; by maintaining constant communication between political agencies and the political edifice of units with headquarters and mutual flow of information; by correct placement of Communists, by prompt replacement of disabled party-political workers, and by continuous strengthening of party and Komsomol organizations; by continuous organizational activity on the part of commanders, political workers, and party activists among the military personnel masses, and by a personal example of courage and bravery in combat; by a prompt, continuous and reliable flow of political information in both directions.

Demands on continuity and efficiency of party-political work are increasing in present-day conditions. Practicalness and businesslike efficiency, coupled with a striving toward lofty goals -- the congress assigned this task to party workers. In a situation of ideological struggle in the world arena, with extensive development of the mass information media, it is important vigorously to respond to changes which are taking place in international affairs, to tasks arising for the Armed Forces, and to cover each and every serviceman with political influence.

Experience shows that in most cases party-political work is being conducted continuously and ubiquitously -- in the field, on sea cruises, in the air, during exercises, during alert duty, and during performance of various combat training missions. This is also fostered by a high degree of efficiency in placing party and Komsomol personnel in decisive areas, in organizing monitoring and verification of execution, and in skilled and flexible utilization of diversified means, forms and methods of political influence.

One essential condition for continuity, efficiency and flexibility of party-political work is, as V. I. Lenin taught, the ability "to determine unerringly for each question and at any moment the attitude of the masses, their actual needs, aspirations, and thoughts...." But /complete and truthful information/ is necessary for this.

Objective, purposeful political information is a powerful instrument of ideological-political leadership and an indispensable source of knowledge of life. Political agencies continuously and efficiently inform activists and military cadres on the most important decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Government, on events in international and domestic affairs. At the same time information flows upward on the state of affairs in given areas, on people's attitudes, needs, and requests. It enables one to respond efficiently to the state of indoctrination work, military discipline, combat and political training, and to take effective measures to correct deficiencies, to synthesize and disseminate advanced know-how. This is why it is required of commanders and political workers today as never before to possess considerable ability

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not only to see a given phenomenon, to reveal a given fact, but also to evaluate them correctly and in a party manner, and to draw the necessary conclusions from them. People expect, as was stated at the party congress, not only a correct and timely presentation of facts but also a profound analysis of these facts and profound syntheses.

Leninist principles of party-political work comprise the methodological foundation of organization and control of processes taking place in the Armed Forces, coordination, on the basis of these principles, of the efforts of commanders, political agencies, and party organizations in accomplishing current tasks of preparing the Armed Forces, training and indoctrinating military personnel. This is achieved better and more completely where leader cadres and all Communists more deeply perceive that immutable truth that persuasion and indoctrination of personnel constitutes the basis of organizational work, and an integral part of party-political work is mobilization of servicemen for implementation of CPSU policy in the area of military organizational development and execution of the demands of orders issued by the USSR minister of defense. Party influence in each area where combat readiness tasks are being accomplished makes it possible to attach deep political meaning to questions pertaining to mastering combat skill, weapons and equipment, and strengthening military discipline.

Principles of party-political work in the Soviet Armed Forces are the foundation of innovative search for the most efficient forms and methods of political influence on the masses. Knowledge of these principles helps everybody who works with personnel to save effort and time in the search for optimal techniques of the indoctrination process. To be able to apply a general thesis in a concrete situation is an art. V. I. Lenin, speaking about the correlation between general principles and their embodiment, stated: "It is foolishness to formulate a prescription or general rule... which would apply to all cases. It is necessary to be able to think intelligently in order to be able to analyze and understand in each individual case."<sup>12</sup>

The principles of party-political work in the Armed Forces, occurring in a dialectical unity, express the party's demands in the area of strengthening national defense. It clearly follows from the proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress that all efforts in party-political work should continue to focus on accomplishing such a responsible and complex task as all-out increase in the combat potential of the Armed Forces, maintaining army and navy combat readiness at a high level. Military councils, commanders, political agencies and party organizations are called upon in their daily activities to proceed from the position that minutes and seconds, in which the time required to bring weapons and equipment into action is measured, are today assuming an enormous social significance. A high degree of continuous readiness on the part of Soviet servicemen to come to the defense of their homeland and the achievements of socialism is in its historical significance a vitally important factor in ensuring favorable conditions for implementing our plans of building communism.

Combat readiness of units and warships presupposes resolution of an entire aggregate of questions of a military-technical, political and moral-psychological

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order. High-quality mastery of weapons and combat equipment, field, sea and air proficiency, ideological conditioning, the moral-political and psychological preparedness of servicemen for combat operations, firm discipline and a high degree of organization -- each of these constituents of troop combat readiness and fighting efficiency demands constant and close attention on the part of military councils, commanders, political agencies, party organizations, and all army and navy Communists.

In light of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the task consists in, while continuously improving methods of political approach to ensuring a high degree of combat readiness of subunits, units, and warships, directing party-political work toward high-quality fulfillment of combat readiness plans, toward achieving higher indices in training, especially in mastering new equipment, improving party principledness in evaluating the results of gunnery activities, missile firings, exercises, cruises, flight operations activities, and creation in military collectives of an atmosphere of implacability toward violations of discipline and toward the slightest manifestations of unnecessary simplification and unnecessary relaxation of demands in training personnel.

Combat readiness is to a significant degree the end result of party-political work and a principal indicator of its effectiveness. Political influence on all elements of combat readiness for the purpose of improving them has the greatest effect wherever innovativeness is manifested, where dynamics and quality of party-political work are combined with dynamics and quality of field, sea and flight training, the entire process of training of military personnel. And as the 26th CPSU Congress demands, commanders, political agencies, and party organizations should be particularly self-critical in this area. That which yesterday was considered an achievement, today can no longer meet the tasks assigned the army and navy.

A decisive role in increasing the effectiveness of party-political work in the Armed Forces should be played by political agencies, which are guiding party agencies in the army and navy.

Employing their characteristic work forms and methods, political agencies are called upon to direct their efforts toward radically solving the problems of training troops and naval forces: complete and high-quality accomplishment of the tasks of combat readiness, indoctrination of servicemen in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, a high degree of vigilance, and development of excellent moral-political qualities in the armed defenders of the homeland. In the final analysis the activities of political agencies are concentrated on ensuring that regardless of how events evolve, there is no chance that we could be taken by surprise.

Improvement in the work of political agencies presupposes persistent mastery of methods of /scientific analysis/ of the process of training and indoctrinating Armed Forces personnel. Greater attention is demanded by socialist competition, strengthening of discipline in the units and on naval ships, and cohesion of military collectives.

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The increasing complexity of training and indoctrinating servicemen dictates the necessity of further intensification of the training process, precision organization of personnel performance of duty, and firm observance of regulations. Commanders, political agencies and staffs are called upon to give training a rigorous rhythm of pace and to ensure precise execution of training curricula and programs, with precise observance of training activity schedules. It is important in each and every military subunit to create an atmosphere of intolerance toward instances of inefficient expenditure of time and toward instances of unnecessary simplifications and diminished demandingness during training activities in the field, at sea, and in the air.

Army and navy political agencies have the task of more closely analyzing organization of combat and political training as a whole and of determining whether everything is being done to ensure that each and every training hour is utilized efficiently, and whether there is not excessive attention devoted to various measures which do not help achieve the main objective -- training and indoctrination of servicemen. Unfortunately, in some units and at some military educational institutions servicemen are excessively diverted to housekeeping activities, apparently forgetting that the problem of quality of training is also a problem of efficient utilization of the time allocated for training.

Political agencies and party organizations possess considerable capabilities in the campaign for /efficient expenditure of training time./ Concerned with this point, they concentrate their attention on work in companies, batteries, and combat departments, on weapon, equipment and vehicle crews.

One cannot help but note that there is sometimes observed a certain gap between what are generally correct and content-filled measures, which are carried out at the level of the unit, and work in subunits, where the tasks of combat readiness, strengthening of discipline, and cohesion of military collectives are directly accomplished. Improving the level of indoctrination measures carried out in the company and battalion is one of those areas of reserve potential which make it possible to boost the efficiency of combat training and to achieve further strengthening of military discipline and increased conscientiousness on the part of military personnel. The 26th CPSU Congress couples the campaign for efficiency of political work in the masses with further mastery of /a Leninist style of leadership/ and the Leninist science of management. This obliges political agencies to work daily to influence the forming of such a style in each leader.

A great deal is spoken about this at meetings and conferences in units and on naval ships, but in practice there still frequently occur deficiencies in the work of individual comrades, an inability to rely on scientific data and to select the most expedient techniques of indoctrinating personnel directly where the tasks of increasing combat readiness and strengthening observance of regulations are being carried out.

Continuously to develop in oneself traits of a leader of the Leninist type means to proceed in all one's practical activities from the tasks assigned by the party congress and to be able to see the main direction and principal

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elements in work aimed at ensuring a high level of troop combat readiness. A Leninist style in the work of military cadres is, to state it concisely, an aggregate of scientific methods of leadership, with the assistance of which one can mobilize servicemen for conscientious fulfillment of the demands of the party and government pertaining to increasing the combat power of the army and navy. It is important to develop in officers, general officers and flag officers the ability to organize performance of service and training of personnel in precise conformity with the provisions of regulations and orders, and to ensure a precise regimen in the daily work and activities of military collectives. Always essential is a feeling of realisticness, which makes it possible to train and indoctrinate servicemen with the greatest benefit for performance of service, innovatively to interpret vital processes and phenomena, to draw conclusions, to make well substantiated decisions and to ensure their absolute execution according to the specified timetable. As was stressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, the genuine art of leadership consists not in producing and disseminating directive instructions at every pretext, but rather in persistently and fully carrying out already adopted decisions.

Genuine /businesslike efficiency/ has nothing in common with bare practicality to the neglect of theory and a narrow-minded utilitarian attitude. It maintains a close bond with foresight and the ability efficiently to utilize the knowledge and skills of individuals and the capabilities of groups. It is precisely these qualities which today distinguish progressive officers who, with the assistance of party organizations, always endeavor to concentrate people's attention on the main thing, who work with an eye to the future, who seek to ensure that each individual does his own job. It is important to continue working persistently to achieve practical incorporation of one of the most important scientific demands: a highly-skilled specialist should not waste time on work which can be performed by a specialist with a lower level of qualifications. Sharp criticism should be leveled at those individuals who have not yet overcome a tendency toward bureaucratic bustling, who cannot refrain from petty oversight, who attempt to do everything themselves, who do not entrust even a simple task to their subordinates and who as a result lose valuable time on secondary matters.

Businesslike efficiency as a trait of the Leninist style presupposes a smoothly operating system of verification of execution of decisions, orders and directives issued by higher agencies, as well as plans, which, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, remains a weak point in the work of a substantial number of party organizations. In the line units as well the status of verification of execution should constantly occupy the center of attention of political agencies. It is necessary to ensure that execution is evaluated primarily on the basis of practical accomplishment of the tasks assigned the unit and naval ship, with all new and progressive elements synthesized, and also with causes of deficiencies revealed and corrected.

In connection with this we should stress the necessity of more effective instillment of personal /responsibility/ of commanders and political workers for the state of combat and political training of personnel. We know that errors of omission in training and indoctrination of personnel and gaps in



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organization of performance of duty turn on specific individuals, including leaders of military collectives. This factor must compel us to ponder the following question: are we doing everything to ensure that the responsibility of commanders and political workers corresponds to the tasks of the day? Are such instruments as on-the-spot inspections and well organized party preventive measures being utilized in full measure here? This provides food for thought for military councils and political agencies, in order to increase party influence on indoctrination of our cadres and on establishment of a Leninist style in their work.

Practical realities and the campaign for complete and precise execution of personnel combat and political training plans show how important it is that leadership positions be occupied by persons possessing a well-developed /sense of the new/ and for every worker to be fully aware of his responsibility to the party and state and to inject organization into every assigned task. Our training and retraining of cadres is being carried out taking these demands into account; in the course of this training everything is done to ensure that individuals improve their ideological-theoretical level, deepen their military knowledge, and master scientific and technological advances. Important in this regard is further improvement of the curricular process at military educational institutions and improvement in the level of training of ideologically conditioned, militarily and technically knowledgeable commanders and political workers.

An essentially innovative Leninist style in all domains of activity, including the military, is continuously developing in conformity with changing conditions. Today an innovative approach to problems of combat readiness, mastering new equipment, training and indoctrination of servicemen is especially essential.

Leadership style and methods are a matter of exceptional importance for party-political work. It was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress that it is the direct obligation of every party leader to be guided by Leninist standards every day and in all things.

Our party organizations are working on the front lines of the campaign for further increasing army and navy combat readiness. Examining the principal areas of their activity in light of the congress resolutions, one can note with satisfaction that party influence has appreciably increased on the course of training and indoctrination of personnel.

Questions pertaining to combat readiness, consummate mastery of weapons and military equipment, the field, sea and air proficiency of personnel, the ideological conditioning and discipline of servicemen occupy the center of attention of army and navy party organizations.

The specific features of the missions performed by the branches of service and combat arms are reflected in the diversified activities of army and navy party organizations. But there is a principal, core element in all the diversity of this work. It is the great responsibility to the party and people for maintaining combat readiness at that level which is essential in order resolutely and devastatingly to nip in the bud any aggression against our country and our brother nations.

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Party organizations are rightly called the guiding political nucleus of military collectives. This function of these organizations is more vividly manifested when Communists perform more harmoniously and energetically as pioneers in socialist competition to improve the efficiency and quality of combat and political training, as propagandists and organizers of a thrifty attitude toward every hour of training and service time, as champions of adoption of everything which is new and progressive, and as genuine fighters against that which impedes improvement of the training and indoctrination process.

A most important direction of the influence of party organizations on personnel is /securement of the vanguard role of party members/ in training, performance of duty, and conduct. It follows from the proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress that the personal example of Communists, reliance on the masses, and the ability to see the future and use it to generate enthusiasm in one's fellow servicemen -- all this enhances the prestige of the party organization and strengthens its influence on the military collective.

When one speaks of the vanguard role of Communists in combat training and discipline, one frequently has in mind only those who are serving in a subunit or on a weapon, equipment or vehicle crew. Unquestionably the responsibility of party members, the exemplariness of whom is determined first and foremost by personal performance results in weapon, tactical and special training, is quite great. But even greater demands should be made of those Communists to whom is entrusted the job of leading military collectives, of handling a given work sector, of training and indoctrinating personnel. The demands of the 26th CPSU Congress on further improvement of cadre quality, placement and qualifications apply in full measure to military cadres.

In light of the congress resolutions, particular attention must be focused on enhancing the vanguard role of staff and directorate Communists. Staff party organizations are centers for dissemination of scientific methods of leadership, are unique generators of innovative thinking, synthesis and adoption of advanced know-how. The success of all work in units and on naval ships depends to a considerable degree on excellence of management and organization.

As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, prerequisites for success in increasing the effectiveness of the work of party organizations lie in the ability to determine primary tasks, to concentrate the efforts of Communists on these tasks, and in regular verification of the state of affairs in given areas. These prerequisites consist in ensuring that the activities of each and every Communist are focused on a concrete and excellent end result, on unconditional attainment of the stated goals.

The congress advanced fundamental guidelines pertaining to further strengthening party ranks, improving selection and indoctrination of cadres, development of criticism and self-criticism, and other important matters pertaining to intra-party affairs. It is a most important duty and obligation of party agencies, party organizations, and all army and navy Communists successfully to implement these guidelines, to build upon amassed experience and know-how, and to correct existing deficiencies. To quote L. I. Brezhnev, they are called upon firmly to implement the party line.

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An indulgent attitude toward those who violate party and military discipline, who forget their party obligations, and who fail to observe party standards is intolerable. Party influence on the course of combat and political training depends entirely on an atmosphere of businesslike efficiency and demandingness in our party organizations. Of particular significance thereby, as is noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On Further Improvement of Oversight and Verification of Execution in Light of the Resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress," dated 16 August 1981, is improvement of "oversight and verification of execution as a most important component part of party organizational work."

In light of the tasks advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress, an analytical approach is required to placement of manpower of party organizations in the main areas of activity and to the practical business of distributing party assignments. Here too much depends on how purposefully and systematically political agencies work on indoctrination of party activists, whose ranks contain approximately one-third of the army and navy Communists.

It is important to develop in commanders the ability to perform party work and to direct the activities of the party organization. The officer-leader is called upon constantly to be at the heart of the party masses, to listen to the voice of Communists, and to direct them in a prompt and timely manner toward resolving daily problems. By personal example he should foster the creation of conditions and an atmosphere in the collective whereby the creative abilities of party members will develop in full measure, so that each individual's feeling of personal responsibility for the state of affairs in the subunit, unit, and naval ship will become even stronger.

Greater attention should be focused on party leadership of /Komsomol organizations./ In his report at the congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the most important thing, the main thing in the work of Komsomol is "to foster the forming of a generation of politically active individuals who know their job, who love labor and know how to work, who are prepared at all times to defend their homeland...."<sup>13</sup> Directly proceeding from this thesis is the essence of party direction of Komsomol work in the armed forces. It consists first of all in stepping up attention toward Communist indoctrination of servicemen and forming in them a scientific-Marxist-Leninist philosophical outlook and dedication to the ideals and goals of the Communist Party.

One of the important forms of party direction of Komsomol organizations is the direct work of Communists in elective Komsomol bodies. Strengthening of the party nucleus in Komsomol has been and remains an important task. One must bear in mind thereby in one's daily work that Communists in Komsomol are as a rule yesterday's Komsomol members. The majority do not immediately acquire new organizer skills and political know-how; they must be taught a great deal.

Indoctrination of youth is a vitally important and responsible party task. Of course political agencies and party organizations cannot shift it off exclusively on Communists elected to top-echelon Komsomol bodies. All Communists participate in it, and of course primarily one-man commanders, political agency officials, secretaries and members of party committees and bureaus, deputy commanders for political affairs, plus others.

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Concrete direction of Komsomol organizations makes it possible to ensure that every Komsomol organization -- company, battalion, regimental, or ship -- engages in a full range of activities, works at full force, ensures exemplariness on the part of all its members in training, performance of duty, and discipline, and makes its own growing contribution to the combat improvement of units and warships.

Work with Komsomol cadres, their selection, placement and training are of exceptional importance.

The Leninist party determines the tasks of military organizational development and the content of party-political work in the Armed Forces. Its leadership, strengthening of the role and influence of party organizations in the army and navy comprise the basic foundation of Soviet military organizational development.

**FOOTNOTES**

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], page 218.
2. Ibid., pp 218-219.
3. Ibid., page 80.
4. Ibid., page 139.
5. Ibid., page 42.
6. Ibid., page 51.
7. Ibid., page 66.
8. Ibid.
9. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 36, page 325.
10. Ibid., Vol 18, page 364.
11. "Materialy...", op. cit., page 51.
12. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 41, page 52.
13. "Materialy...", op. cit., page 67.

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**Chapter Two. FORMING INDOMITABLE MORALE IN SERVICEMEN**

In its multifaceted activities pertaining to guiding the building of communism, the Leninist party devotes enormous attention to building up the spiritual resources of our society, the political indoctrination of Soviet citizens and their mastery of Marxism-Leninism. The greatest achievement of developed socialism is the birth of Soviet man, an active fighter and builder who is wholeheartedly dedicated to the ideals of communism. In his report at the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed: "Soviet man is a conscientious worker, a man of high political standards, a patriot and internationalist. He has been indoctrinated by the party, by the heroic history of our country, by our entire system. He is living the full-fledged life of builder of a new world."<sup>1</sup>

At the same time the forming of the new man continues to occupy the center of the party's attention. We possess today great material and spiritual capabilities for increasingly fuller development of the individual, for increasing the spiritual potential of society, the patriotic and internationalist indoctrination of Soviet servicemen.

**1. Marxism-Leninism -- Theoretical Foundation of Ideological Work**

The party is building the entire business of Communist indoctrination on the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory. Faithfully reflecting actual societal processes, this revolutionary theory enables the worker masses consciously to build a new society and to defend its achievements against any and all encroachments by the enemies of socialism. "The Marxist-Leninist party cannot carry out its role," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the congress, "if it does not devote adequate attention to interpretation of everything which is taking place, to synthesis of the new phenomena of life, and /to innovative development of Marxist-Leninist theory./"<sup>2</sup>

Marxist-Leninist science provides the Communist Party with the possibility of promptly formulating and correctly resolving questions advanced by the realities of life. It is supported in its development by practical revolutionary achievements and gives fighters for communism a powerful weapon of social foresight, which enables them to determine the concrete paths and methods of creating the material and technological foundation of communism, improvement of societal relations, and indoctrination of the new man.

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Marxist-Leninist teaching on war and the army equips working people and military personnel with an understanding of the objective necessity of defending socialist achievements against potential aggression by imperialist forces.

The more profound and the greater the scale of transformations, the broader their scope, the more intensively party /theoretical/ work is conducted. New theoretical points on the development of socialism and the prospects of building communism, which have enriched Marxist-Leninist science, were formulated in many party documents. These include the proceedings and resolutions of the 24th, 25th, and 26th CPSU congresses, the decisions of Central Committee plenums, documents dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 100th and 110th anniversaries of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the writings and speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and other party and government leaders. At the same time the party continued investigation and theoretical interpretation of new phenomena and processes in the contemporary capitalist society as well, its economy, ideology and politics, and clarification of questions which arise in connection with the aggressive essence of imperialism and the military danger it engenders. The party is also interested in a broad range of questions pertaining to the affairs and prospects of developing countries.

The conception of a developed socialist society is a truly outstanding achievement of creative Marxism. The party has convincingly demonstrated that mature, developed socialism is the most dynamic society in history. It possesses enormous capabilities not only for achieving the strategic aims of the CPSU in the area of the economy, sociopolitical and spiritual development, but also for accomplishing a broad range of foreign policy tasks and for further strengthening this country's defense might and the combat potential of the Armed Forces.

Deepening of the conception of developed socialism in the proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress was expressed in clearly formulated points on enhancement of the role of the subjective factor in direction of the nation's economy and in the fact that, as is noted in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report, "the establishment of a classless structure of society will take place basically and primarily within the historical framework of mature socialism."<sup>3</sup>

The congress concretized and supplemented the conception of mature socialism from the standpoint of further development of the Soviet people as a new social and international community. It was shown that the intensive economic and social development of each of our republics speeds up the process of their comprehensive drawing together and leads to the flourishing and mutual enrichment of the national cultures and at the same time to the forming of a culture of a united Soviet people. In indoctrination of personnel one should take into account the problems stated by the congress connected with the specific features of contemporary social-demographic development in this country, with intensification of migration processes in our society, and with further improvement of ethnic relations at the contemporary stage.

The conception of the socialist way of life experienced further development in the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress. Attention was focused on the

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importance of emphasizing in this complex phenomenon both material and spiritual fundamentals. The growing role of literature and art in forming the new man was shown. Pointing by the congress to the significance of man's self-indoctrination, the forming of man's intelligent needs and interests, and increasing his awareness, initiative, and discipline was an important element.

Problems dealing with the world revolutionary process, the socialist community, and relations between the USSR and the brother socialist countries on the one hand and liberated countries and nations of socialist orientation on the other experienced further scientific elaboration at the congress.

The congress deeply analyzed the development of the world Communist movement. It reemphasized the diversity of forms, methods, and paths of socialist revolution dictated by the correlation of class forces, the ethnic structure in a given country, and the external situation. The congress expressed resolute opposition to "criticism" which distorts socialist reality, departs from the general mechanisms of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, and renders service to the class enemy.

The analysis of the problems of war and peace and the reasons for the increased aggressiveness of imperialism presented at the congress constituted an important contribution to Marxist-Leninist teaching on war and the army. Once again the paramount importance of consolidating peace, preserving and deepening détente, and holding the arms race in check was noted; the increased capabilities of the world's progressive forces in their campaign to eliminate the threat of war were shown.

The Leninist conception of a socialist army was further developed at the congress. Of enormous significance for practical training and indoctrination of military personnel is the thesis on the historical role of the Soviet Armed Forces: reliably to guard the peaceful, productive labor of the Soviet people, to defend peace, and to aid victims of aggression. The congress expanded the scientific conception of the factors which comprise the combat potential of the Armed Forces and demonstrated the interrelationship and interpenetration of these factors as a strong fusion of technical equipment, military expertise, and indomitable morale.

A law and pattern of developed socialism -- /enhancement of the role of the ideological factor in building a new society/ -- was further substantiated in the proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress. Our movement forward demands of each individual a deeper understanding of the unity of the public and the individual, the primacy of the general weal as a condition for fuller satisfaction of the needs of the individual. Stressing the necessity of reorganizing many areas and domains of ideological work, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the congress: "We must ensure that its content becomes more current, and that its forms correspond to the present desires and needs of Soviet citizens."<sup>4</sup>

Ideological work is essentially the domain of the science of man. Its effectiveness and quality are manifested first of all in the degree of influence on people's consciousness, views, and convictions and, secondly, in their actions. Consciousness of the individual finds expression in such indicators

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as volume of assimilated knowledge, degree of knowledgeability, and conviction. The indicators of the actions of the individual are measured in turn by the level of one's labor and sociopolitical activeness and by the nature of one's conduct on the job, during performance of duty, and during off-duty hours.

The entire system of party ideological-indoctrination work seeks to ensure that Marxist-Leninist ideas become stable personal convictions on the part of each and every Soviet citizen, determining their actions and deeds. There is a single core line here -- development in all members of society of a high degree of political consciousness and instilling of an active attitude toward life, a conscientious attitude toward civic duty, a unity of word and deed, demandingness on oneself and others, and strict observance of Communist morality. Thus ideological work becomes a continuously operating front of the campaign for communism and increasing the defense might of the homeland.

Taking into consideration the ever increasing significance of ideological work, the party devotes unabating attention to its improvement. In the period between the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses, approximately 40 Central Committee decrees were adopted on ideological questions, encompassing all the basic elements of Communist indoctrination and reflecting new trends of societal development characteristic of mature socialism. A special place among these documents is occupied by the 26 April 1979 CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination Work" which, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress, is a document of long-term effect.

The proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress are of enormous ideological-theoretical and practical significance in ideological work. Thorough study and dissemination of these documents as one of the most important conditions for increasing the social activeness of working people, army and navy personnel, and successful implementation of the party-elaborated program of building communism has become its content for an extended period of time.

Thus we have at our disposal a well-structured system of theoretical theses of Marxism-Leninism and political guidelines, which express the Communist Party's approach to ideological work and indoctrination of Soviet citizens, including military personnel. Grounded on the Leninist ideological-theoretical legacy, these theses make it possible to exert ideological influence on all aspects of army and navy activities. In army and navy affairs there are no purely technical problems or organizational measures which contain no ideological significance. Combat and political training, mastery of weapons, organization of socialist competition, and military exercises -- in short, all aspects of personnel activities -- are directly dependent on the quality of propaganda and agitation, their scope and depth of influence. It is therefore so important that commanders, political workers and engineers, when determining the concrete tasks of personnel combat and political training, always see their ideological aspect and be able to give a correct political appraisal of phenomena and possess the capability of holding our class position firm in any and all conditions.

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## 2. Conditions and Features of Ideological Work at the Contemporary Stage

All the successes of the people in building communism are directly linked with the triumph of the ideology of scientific socialism, permeated with genuine humanism and historical optimism. Marxist-Leninist ideology, revealing the objective mechanisms of social development and continuously reflecting its dynamics, is at the same time evolving together with society. This dialectical interrelationship must always be borne in mind, particularly by those persons who organize and conduct ideological work among the masses. Effectiveness of ideological-political influence on working people and Armed Forces personnel is directly dependent on coordination between ideological activity and the conditions in which we live and work. And they have changed significantly in recent years.

As was noted in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress, "the Soviet citizen has changed. His knowledge has become enriched, his erudition increased, and his spiritual and intellectual requirements have increased substantially."<sup>5</sup> A rise in the general educational level of working people (80 percent of Soviet citizens now possess higher, complete or partial secondary education) promotes improvement of their moral qualities and aesthetic tastes and induces positive changes in the individual's consciousness. In other words, a high degree of ideological maturity, political awareness and social activeness on the part of the masses is characteristic of a developed socialist society.

The present level of socialist societal awareness, which is continuously being enriched with new content, serves as that reliable foundation on which party ideological-indoctrinational work is constructed. It is taken into account thereby that young generations of builders of communism are entering active production and sociopolitical affairs. They are filled with energy and enthusiasm and are willing to make their contribution to the common cause. The life experience of young people is limited, however; they have not experienced that school of political conditioning which the people of the older generation have gone through, people who gained knowledge of the essence of Marxism-Leninism in the flame of class battles and the ordeals of war. Therefore in conditions where affirmation of the socialist ideology is taking place with consideration of vigorous ideological hostility, the party is endeavoring to arm young people with firm theoretical knowledge and, on this basis, to develop ideological conviction in them, to teach them practical application of the theses and conclusions of Marxism-Leninist theory. As was emphasized by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his report at the 26th CPSU Congress, it is essential to ensure that the high ideals assimilated by young people stimulate social activeness on the part of the younger generation, their productivity, and directly reflect in daily activities.

Growth in the consciousness and overall cultural standards of Soviet citizens also determines a new, exceptionally high level of demands on the content of party ideological work. Two elements must be distinguished here: on the one hand, the tasks of ideological-political influence on the masses are facilitated -- propagandists as a rule are dealing with a well prepared audience, possessing broad aspirations and diversified interests; on the other hand, these

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tasks are significantly complicated due to the necessity of conducting propaganda and agitation at a higher level.

Speaking of change in the conditions and specific features of ideological-political work today, one should note the fact that workers on the ideological front have at their disposal an arsenal of means of influencing literally all segments of this country's population. The periodical press, which has a combined circulation of 380 million copies of newspapers and magazines, is a reliable channel of daily /information./ Periodicals are published at a rate of more than four per Soviet family. Books and pamphlets are published in press runs in the many millions of copies. Our country is practically totally radio-served, and four-fifths of the population watch Soviet television. Millions of lecturers, propagandists, agitators and political information people regularly address audiences of workers, kolkhoz farmers, intelligentsia, young students and Armed Forces personnel. Our literature and art -- socialist in content, national in form, and internationalist in spirit -- constantly exert ideological influence on the masses. Development of the information media has led essentially to the creation of a new information situation, which fosters a substantial improvement in the ideological-political indoctrination of Soviet citizens, including army and navy personnel. The Soviet people are promptly informed on the most important party and government decisions, on current events at home and abroad. At the same time a wealth of information is received at newspaper and magazine offices, radio and television studios on the state of affairs locally, on the attitudes, needs and aspirations of working people. This makes it possible quickly and efficiently to correct discovered deficiencies, to synthesize and widely adopt advanced know-how, and to specify new, concrete tasks in Communist indoctrination of Soviet citizens.

The favorable situation, however, which is created for ideological workers in the course of the rapid development of propaganda and agitation means, once again imposes higher demands on the activities of propagandist activists. This applies both to improvement in the forms and methods of ideological-indoctrination work and improving the methods skills of fighters of the ideological front.

Another feature of the conditions in which the party is conducting ideological work is aggravation of the /class struggle in the world arena/ and increased ideological activeness on the part of the propaganda centers of our class adversary. The successes of the Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community in building a new life are keeping international reaction in a state of agitation. They are attempting by all methods and means to impede the forward movement of socialism and to undermine the socialist world from within. They are employing the foulest and most villainous means to achieve this, from economic pressure and political blackmail, support and encouragement of counterrevolutionary forces, hypocrisy and demagoguery to base lies and falsification. Our enemies will stoop to any devices to blacken socialism, to distort its essence and to diminish its prestige in the eyes of the gullible.

Antisocialist forces have extensively utilized the events in Poland toward these ends. They have attempted to compromise the Polish United Workers' Party

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and to take away its leadership role in society. Reactionary circles in the West are doing everything they can to urge agents in the Polish socialist state to engage in numerous debates with the aim of pushing through views which are alien to Marxism-Leninism, of provoking apostasy, and propagating so-called "pluralism," that is, a diversity of ideological and political currents and aggravation of the crisis situation in the economic and societal affairs of People's Poland. However, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated in his address at the 26th CPSU Congress, "we shall not leave socialist Poland, fraternal Poland in the lurch, and we shall not allow it to be wronged!"<sup>6</sup>

The imperialist bourgeoisie is clearly cognizant of the fact that a revolutionizing influence on the nonsocialist part of the world is exerted not only by the economic successes of the Soviet Union, by all genuine socialism, but also by the example of our monolithic morale-political unity. Therefore international reaction, and particularly U.S. imperialists, seeking to halt the victorious march of Communist ideology, is more and more persistently building up its efforts in antisocialist, anti-Soviet propaganda. Many political leaders in the United States and a number of other Western countries frequently ignore the political realities of today's world. They are making decisions which are not merely incommensurate to the state of affairs but are totally contrary to the spirit of our time. Irresponsible politicians, who have succeeded in forgetting the stern lessons of history, are seeking in vain to halt or alter the course of the historically objective movement of mankind toward a bright future. And the danger of these efforts lies in the fact that militant imperialist circles, entertaining hopes of blocking the spread of Communist ideas, are rattling their sabers and continuing to place their hopes on military force. Such a policy is fraught with the greatest threat to all mankind.

Activation of the bourgeoisie in the ideological struggle against communism and intensification of its attempts to blacken and slander communism and Soviet authority urgently dictates the necessity of further improving political indoctrination work, increasing the effectiveness of ideological efforts, and achieving a steady increase in their yield. Our party is constantly concerned with improving and perfecting Communist indoctrination of working people. It continuously devotes enormous attention to equipping ideological cadres and all Communists with a methodology of indoctrination work which makes it possible skillfully to explain to people the conclusions of Marxist-Leninist science and to form staunch ideological convictions in them.

Attesting to this in particular is the fact that in the period between the 25th and 26th CPSU congresses the Central Committee of the party issued decrees on experience in comprehensively solving problems of ideological indoctrination work, on tasks of party education, direction of the mass information and propaganda media, on enhancing the role of verbal political agitation, on measures to improve lecture propaganda and, finally, on further improvement of ideological and political indoctrination work. In the latter document emphasis is essentially on reorganizing many areas and domains of ideological work. This reorganization, toward which the congress proceedings also focus us, should be conducted in the direction of raising the scientific level and increasing the aggressiveness of all ideological indoctrination work and

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strengthening its link with the practical realities of life. The task consists in propaganda not sidestepping sensitive subjects, in propagandists speaking with people in a lively and interesting manner -- not in the language of standard sets of ready formulas, but in the language of concrete facts, persuasive arguments, so that they truly influence people's hearts and souls, instilling in them an unswerving resoluteness and the will to bring the cause of building communism to a victorious conclusion.

**3. Principal Directions of Ideological Work, Ways to Increase Its Effectiveness**

The party Central Committee decree entitled "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination Work" contains very important theoretical syntheses and practical conclusions characterizing party ideological activities in conditions of developed socialism, examines current problems of ideological-political indoctrination, and defines concrete ways to increase its effectiveness.

When we speak of improving the quality of ideological work, we have in mind primarily such determining indicators as ideological thrust, scientific argumentation of points and recommendations, and overall level of sophistication.

The attention of party organizations and propagandist-activists is today concentrated on how to ensure a high scientific level of propaganda and agitation, how to improve their efficiency and concreteness, to strengthen their link with practical realities, with accomplishing economic and political tasks, and how to develop the aggressive character of propaganda and agitation. Accomplishment of these tasks makes it possible to fill with profound ideological-theoretical content each of the areas of ideological work and to ensure increased effectiveness of this work.

The central thrust of ideological work in the military is /forming in personnel a Marxist-Leninist ideological outlook,/ which determines to a decisive degree the strength of influence of the ideological factor on accomplishing the tasks of building communism in general and strengthening national defense in particular.

Ideological outlook is akin to a person's spiritual bridgehead, defining his political attitude, class feeling, and sense of citizenship. Building communism and defending revolutionary achievements demand of people a high degree of ideological conviction, a broad educational level, and moral maturity.

In the society of developed socialism the majority of Soviet citizens have certainly assimilated Marxist-Leninist teaching, which comprises the principal source of forming a Communist ideological outlook. Consistent study of Marxist-Leninist theory develops dialectical thinking and gives it a significant, acute, flexible, and innovative character. The party seeks to achieve a situation where each and every Soviet citizen possesses scientific views on the development of society and is profoundly aware of his place in the struggle for communism.

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The process of deepening a person's ideological outlook is essentially unbounded, just as cognition of the objective world is without limits. Life is constantly changing, and man himself is also changing. The problem of forming a Communist ideological outlook the level of which would correspond to the present stage of development of our society and, in particular, to the tasks of Soviet military organizational development, is highly pertinent. Especially important in this regard is a deeper mastery of ideological-theoretical knowledge by our cadres -- commanders, political workers, leaders and indoctrinators of their subordinates.

A Communist ideological outlook enables the officer to cognize the objective mechanisms and patterns of defense of the achievements of the socialist revolution, the paths of improvement of the Armed Forces and maintaining them in a continuous state of combat readiness. It is difficult and sometimes impossible for a person who does not possess scientific knowledge of an ideological character to reach correct conclusions on development trends in the world military-political situation, as well as trends in the development of military affairs as a whole or individual areas within military affairs. It is also difficult for such a person to understand the complex aggregate of relationships within the military collective. Knowledge of the laws governing the development of nature and society and the factors affecting the course and outcome of war enables one mentally to foresee events, as it were, to look into tomorrow. The ability to foresee, to consider in one's work the requirements and possibilities of the future, today is one of the essential conditions which ensure success in the activities of military cadres.

An important role in forming a scientific ideological outlook in officers is played by our military educational institutions, command authorities, and political agencies. The task consists in ensuring that each and every graduate of a military educational institution is comprehensively prepared for work in line units, is able to approach in a scientific manner the organization of combat and political training, training and indoctrination of army and navy personnel. It is also essential to ensure that an officer continues persistently studying after graduating from the service school and academy.

An important aspect in forming a scientific ideological outlook in cadres in present-day conditions is depth of assimilation of ideological-theoretical knowledge.

In his report at the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed: "We want to ensure that party policy merges with the activities of the masses, that party education teaches people, to quote V. I. Lenin "to act as communism in fact demands."<sup>7</sup> Meriting full support in light of this most important point is that attention which is presently being devoted by military councils, commanders, political agencies and party organizations to officer independent study of primary sources and the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress. In present-day conditions, when the volume of knowledge is rapidly growing, one cannot count merely on one-time assimilation of a specified sum total of facts -- it is important to impart to cadres the ability independently to increase their knowledge and to gain their bearings in the swift flow of socio-political information.

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Ideological training is organically linked with /forming a high level of political consciousness./ A clear understanding of Communist Party policy and a clear-cut concept of the paths of implementation of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the achievements and problems of genuine socialism, as well as the aims of improving the Soviet Armed Forces -- all this ensures development of an integral person and moral preparedness successfully to carry out complex combat missions.

Political ideas are capturing the consciousness of millions. Exerting determining influence on the formation of ideological outlooks, they help people adjust and mobilize for the accomplishment of constructive tasks and, in case of war, to defend the socialist homeland. At the same time the forming of political consciousness is a very complex process. It is not limited to the framework of book knowledge and the accomplishment of course curricula.

We can note with satisfaction that in recent years there has been an appreciable increase in interest on the part of all categories of military personnel in studying the theoretical legacy of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, CPSU decisions, and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as well as other party and government leaders. Particular attention is focused on understanding the collective wisdom of our Leninist party, reflected in the proceedings of its 26th Congress. Study of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress today constitutes the core of Marxist-Leninist education of cadres and all Soviet servicemen.

Reports and lectures are presented and consultation sessions held to assist the members of officer Marxist-Leninist training groups, warrant officer political education groups, and political instruction classes for noncommissioned officers and enlisted personnel. Up-to-date forms of information-propagandist work are becoming increasingly widespread, forms which take into account the fact that a timely, concise and clear commentary is frequently more effective and much more strongly influences the consciousness of servicemen than an extensive but belated explanation.

An important source for forming ideological conviction is people's practical labor and, in conditions of the army and navy, military activity which, on the one hand, enables one to become convinced of the truth of theoretical points and on the other hand demands of a person volition, courage, and a resolute struggle to implement these points. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev stressed at the congress: "It has long been known that truth is firmly assimilated when it is experienced, not simply taught."<sup>8</sup>

Knowledge of communism obtained only from textbooks, only from lectures and reports, without work and without a struggle to implement this knowledge engenders quotation mongers and braggarts. A person who has not consolidated his erudition in the area of the social sciences with active participation in the common Communist cause is not guaranteed against being transformed under certain conditions into the most typical philistine, distant from the interests of society. Political consciousness should and must be determined on the basis of how usefully a person works for the benefit of the people, how broadly and how state-centeredly he thinks when carrying out his duties, and how highly moral his conduct is.

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There is taking place in the process of development of our society an ever increasing enrichment of the spiritual resources of the people, the army and navy. The noble features of the spiritual countenance of the Soviet citizen are also improving with the aid of forms and methods which comprise the content of moral indoctrination.

Carrying out the party's demands pertaining to further improvement of ideological work, military councils, commanders, political agencies and party organizations specify as one of the most important areas of their political indoctrination activity the /moral improvement of Soviet servicemen./ Moral indoctrination of army and navy personnel is grounded on the principles and standards of Communist morality, observance of which in conditions of military service is assuming particular significance -- it involves performance of tasks pertaining to defense of the socialist homeland and the achievements of socialism. It is not mere happenstance that the moral standards of conduct of the Soviet servicemen, on an equal footing with legal standards, are incorporated into the texts of the military oath and general military regulations and have the force of law. Observance of the demands of these documents, which regulate the life and activities of military collectives, is mandatory for each and every citizen-soldier of the USSR.

Another specific feature of moral indoctrination lies in the fact that it is based not simply on the demands of society expressed in standards of morality but on concrete models of behavior in which these standards are most fully and genuinely embodied. The noble countenance of revolutionaries of the Lenin guard, heroes of the struggle for the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland, and leading-performance workers of the five-year plan, who have given and continue to give all their knowledge and energy for the source of affirmation of the highest moral ideals, has served and will always serve as a source of inspiration for our young people. In light of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, higher demands are being imposed on the personal exemplariness of leaders, including commanders and political workers. Leadership of military collectives has been entrusted to them. Subordinates are particularly sensitive to the conduct of an officer-commander. People frequently judge not only his personal qualities but also the truth of the moral values of our society by how he observes moral standards, how demanding he is on himself, and how honest he is in relations with his superiors and subordinates, as well as during off-duty hours. We believe that in analyzing the state of affairs in a given subunit, things in which do not correspond to the high demands of regulations and morality, one of the causes of this situation may be a lack of personal exemplariness on the part of the commander and political worker. By their entire conduct both on and off duty they are called upon to embody in their moral countenance the lofty standards of Communist morality.

In his report to the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated the question of increasing the responsibility of leader personnel for carrying out their duties and the demands of the Soviet State. Attention was drawn to the necessity of further improving /legal indoctrination/ -- one of the important areas of ideological work.

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The laws of the Soviet State, created on the basis of the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law), express the will of the party and the entire people. The force of indoctrinational effect of these laws lies in the fact that they officially and formally state the legal principles and standards on which Communist morality is primarily based. This is why legal indoctrination should not only give servicemen a precise idea of their rights and obligations but should also form in them a highly moral attitude toward the laws in effect in our country and toward observing the demands of these laws.

We must particularly stress a final aspect. In the army and the navy Soviet laws, and in particular the USSR Law on Universal Military Service Obligation, the military oath and general military regulations, serve as an effective means of regulation by the state of societal relations in the realm of defense. These laws, defining the fundamental guidelines of manpower acquisition, structure and organization of all Armed Forces life and activities, guard the firmness of the adopted procedure of performance of military service, the rights and legitimate interests of military personnel. Observance of legal standards actively fosters increase in the combat efficiency of units and subunits and strengthening of conscious discipline.

V. I. Lenin viewed rule of law as a phenomenon dictated by the general level of culture of the masses. He considered disregard of the rule of law and violation of the law to be one of the manifestations of a low level of cultural and moral standards. Linked with people's cultural level is their political and moral awareness, the entire process of forming a scientific ideological outlook in them. "One can become a Communist only when one enriches one's memory with the knowledge of all those riches which have been produced by mankind,"<sup>9</sup> stated the leader of the proletarian revolution.

In conditions of developed socialism the party is continuing to increase efforts aimed at /growth of the level of culture and enrichment of the intellectual and spiritual world of Soviet working people and military personnel./ Thanks to the concern of the party, an extensive network of officers' clubs, clubhouses and libraries, lecture agencies and universities of culture has been established in the Armed Forces. Every day millions of copies of newspapers are delivered to the units and naval ships. In recent years there has been a threefold increase in television set availability to personnel, and a 10-fold increase in availability of radio receivers. Establishment of a patron relationship between people in culture and science and the Armed Forces has assumed an enormous scale -- every year approximately 2 million different cultural-patron events are held. All this fosters the development of amateur talent activity in the units and on naval ships and enriches opportunities for the cultural growth and aesthetic indoctrination of military personnel.

The Leninist party teaches us efficiently to utilize the capabilities of developed socialism for /intensification of patriotic and internationalist indoctrination of Soviet citizens, army and navy personnel./ By its entire content and by all its tested and proven means and methods, ideological work is called upon to form in working people a socially active feeling of love toward the homeland and dedication to the socialist societal and governmental

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system, and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a feeling of pride in the achievements of our people, who are proceeding, under party guidance, at the forefront of world social progress. Patriotic indoctrination aims at assisting Soviet man in deeply perceiving the necessity of armed defense of the socialist homeland and at developing in him the willingness and readiness selflessly to carry out his sacred civic duty.

Soviet patriotism is international in essence. The CPSU has struggled and will always struggle resolutely against such manifestations alien to the nature of socialism as chauvinism and nationalism, and against any and all nationalistic deviations, such as anti-Semitism or Zionism, for example. The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized: "It is the party's sacred duty to indoctrinate working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, a proud feeling of belonging to the great, united Soviet homeland."<sup>10</sup>

The international character of Soviet patriotism is manifested in an organic unity of dedication and faithfulness on the part of Soviet citizens to their homeland and the entire socialist community, to the cause of class solidarity with the working people of all countries. The consistency of the Marxist-Leninist line followed by the Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community in foreign policy and in defense of the achievements of socialism was convincingly demonstrated in the course of the 26th CPSU Congress and recent congresses of the other brother parties of the socialist nations. Nobody can doubt the resolve of the peoples of the nations of the socialist community to safeguard their interests.

The daily life and combat training of the men of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member nations is permeated by a spirit of internationalism.

One of the most important tasks of ideological work in the army and navy in the final analysis is indoctrination of personnel /in a spirit of excellent vigilance and constant combat readiness, guaranteeing an immediate and resolute repulsing response to any aggressor./ In order successfully to form in military personnel the requisite moral-political and fighting qualities and to maintain in the units and on naval ships a high degree of combat readiness, it is extremely important to ensure that servicemen thoroughly assimilate party conclusions on the present distribution of class forces in the world and gain a realistic idea of the existing military danger.

It is clearly evident from the proceedings and resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress how the scale of influence of ideological work on Soviet servicemen has grown. The task consists in obtaining maximum return on this effort. And the road is obvious -- we must ensure that the content of ideological indoctrination activity on the part of military councils, commanders, political agencies and party organizations becomes more pertinent and that its forms correspond to present requirements and needs of the Armed Forces.

#### 4. Guarantee of Success -- A Combined Approach

Of particular importance for successful implementation of the guidelines of the 26th CPSU Congress in the area of ideological indoctrination work is the more than 2 years experience of execution in the army and navy of the demands

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of the 26 April 1979 CPSU Central Committee decree. A good many positive achievements have been gained in practical ideological activities during this time.

The style of direction of ideological work is improving. Command-political leader personnel are taking more active part in it. Party committees are paying greater attention to ideological-political indoctrination of Communists and all military personnel. An aggressive character of propaganda and agitation is developing, and its scientific character, efficiency and concreteness are improving.

Measures adopted for further increasing the effectiveness of ideological work are having a positive effect on strengthening the morale of Armed Forces personnel, accomplishment of combat and political training tasks, and strengthening of the indoctrinational role of military service. But these are merely first steps toward meeting the demands of the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination Work."

The content and style of political indoctrination activity in the military masses are today determined by the demanding, critical and constructive spirit of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress. Commanders, political agencies, party organizations and the entire body of ideological activists are called upon to affirm this spirit of Bolshevik principledness and productive activeness in the affairs of each and every collective, and to indoctrinate an implacable attitude toward shortcomings and toward all deviations from the Soviet way of life. The congress's innovative approach toward matters of indoctrination was expressed in the fact that it examined them taking into account social realities, without separation from developing societal relations, the processes of the socialist way of life, and the intense class struggle in the international arena.

An important demand proceeds from the congress resolutions: to construct the ideological indoctrination process in an inseparable link with practical tasks. Concrete deeds have been and continue to be the measuring stick of success in ideological work. The party teaches us that the main criterion of the ideological maturity of the Soviet citizen is achievement of the greatest possible performance results in his sphere of activity, unity of word and deed, organization and discipline, an active and implacable position in the campaign against any and all deviations from standards of Communist morality and socialist intercourse.

In his report at the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev revealed with Leninist precision the meaning of this demand: "...The point is to achieve in a practical manner a unity of party ideological-theoretical, political-indoctrination, organizational and administrative work."<sup>11</sup> In other words, the basic path to increase the effectiveness of Communist indoctrination of Soviet citizens lies in adoption of a combined approach toward it.

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The complexity and responsibility of the tasks whose accomplishment has been assigned by the party and people to the Armed Forces, and the necessity of continuously strengthening one of the main components of the combat potential of the army and navy — the morale of personnel — demand strict adherence to these same reference points within the framework of development of military affairs as well.

Ideological-indoctrination activity is inconceivable without comprehensive consideration of the realities of the life of our society and the international situation.

/A combined approach to Communist indoctrination of Soviet citizens/ is one of the fundamental principles of CPSU theoretical thought and practical activity. It is rooted in the very view by Marxism-Leninism of society as a specifically organized system, all elements of which are in a close link, interdependence and in a certain subordination. Therefore a combined approach should be viewed both as a method of systems analysis of the processes of reality and as the fundamental basis of organization of ideological measures.

Having stressed the long-term, program nature of the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination Work," the 26th CPSU Congress once again noted that in conditions of developed socialism Communist indoctrination of working people should be constructed on the principle of a combined approach. This means first and foremost conscious, planned management of all interrelated aspects and components of the indoctrination process and securing of its interaction with other processes of societal affairs. A combined approach excludes one-sidedness in formulating and accomplishing tasks of ideological indoctrination work and excludes substitution of a single item, even a very important one, for an aggregate of items. Such an approach is fully in conformity with the Leninist principle of the main link, that is, selection of the most important, determining item, on which the success of the entire undertaking depends.

Implementation of the demands of the 26th CPSU Congress pertaining to the entire business of indoctrinating people in conditions of a society of developed socialism presupposes a clear understanding of the principal objectives of ideological work and the ability to achieve them in the course of accomplishing diversified practical tasks of economic, cultural and military organizational development. Common goals of ideological influence are achieved by means of concrete forms of indoctrination work. This is promoted in particular by the party-elaborated formula of unity of ideological-political, labor (military), and moral indoctrination.

As we know, numerous /objective factors of socialist reality,/ including the absence of man's exploitation of man, utilization of all material and spiritual riches in the interests of the working people, a guaranteed right to labor, study and rest, collectivism, and comradely mutual assistance beneficially influence on a day-to-day basis the consciousness of the Soviet citizen, including USSR Armed Forces personnel.

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The entire structure of service in the Soviet Armed Forces exceptionally strongly affects the consciousness of military personnel. In these conditions the complex problem of controlling the spiritual development of personnel consists in coordinating such forming factors as social environment, system of training and indoctrination, self-education and self-indoctrination, etc. Conformity between people's motives, thoughts, deeds, and conduct on the one hand and the demands of the objective laws and patterns of socialism on the other is ensured by means of improving the forms and methods of all the work of commanders, political agencies and party organizations, strengthening of military cadres, and utilization of all the opportunities presented to us by our socialist reality, the conclusions of science, and amassed experience.

It would be an unnecessary simplification, however, to rely solely on the favorable influence of objective conditions of life and the socialist societal environment on development of the personality of the Soviet serviceman. It is essential to draw attention to this because some leaders of military collectives believe that the powerful influence of the socioeconomic conditions of developed socialism on forming the ideological-moral countenance of today's defender of the homeland simplifies concern for Communist indoctrination of subordinates. In actuality effectiveness of the influence of the social environment also depends on how correctly people perceive themselves in this environment and how mature their ideological and moral positions are. For example, increased material prosperity per se does not always lead to a growth in spiritual requirements. Under certain circumstances this can even result in relapses of philistine, petit-bourgeois psychology.

Such relapses, just as other deviations from the moral standards of the socialist society which are still encountered in this country, are in contradiction with the essence of the Soviet way of life. The 26th CPSU Congress stressed that the efforts of all work forces, all public organizations, and all Communists should be directed toward a campaign against deviations from the moral standards of our way of life. The task of universal affirmation of the /prestige of honest, conscientious, productive labor/ is advanced to the forefront here. Accomplishment of this task is a most important condition for success in the campaign against consumer attitudes and philistinism.

The more actively indoctrinational work is conducted, the more effective is the /influence of the social environment/ on formation of the individual character. The general tasks of Communist indoctrination are accomplished in a unity of all types of ideological and sociopsychological influence on the individual, that is, in a combined manner.

Adoption of a combined approach to organization of ideological indoctrination work makes it possible actively to influence all domains of military activity, extensively to employ all means of ideological indoctrination, and to enlist all commanders, political workers, engineers and technicians and staffs and services officers to practical participation in it. There is no military occupational specialty which would not carry an ideological work load.

Speaking of a combined approach to handling Communist indoctrination of working people and Armed Forces personnel, one should also bear in mind such a

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feature of this method and principle as /study and consideration of public opinion./ In order successfully to accomplish the task, specified by the 26th CPSU Congress, of reorganizing many areas and domains of ideological work and to increase its effectiveness, it is important to learn to feel at any given moment the depth of people's understanding of Communist Party policy and the tasks of the entire Soviet people and the Armed Forces as well as one's own direct tasks. As V. I. Lenin stated, it is necessary to be able to determine, without a shadow of false idealization, the degree of consciousness of the masses and the force of influence of various prejudices and vestiges of the past on the masses.<sup>12</sup>

Public opinion is a specific phenomenon of the spiritual affairs of our society. It reflects the actual state of consciousness of collectives, social groups, classes, and the entire people, people's understanding and appraisal of various societal events, phenomena and processes. Manifested not only through the judgments of the members of society but through their actions and deeds as well, public opinion is capable of regulating the behavior of the individual. This is why it is a synthesis of word and deed, as it were.

In elaborating its policy, end goals and tasks, the Communist Party relies on the scientific foundation of the objective laws and patterns of societal development. At the same time it takes carefully into consideration public opinion and the level of consciousness of the masses. Thanks to such a dialectical approach, CPSU policy expresses the root interests of the worker class and of all working people.

The congress advanced the demand of continuing to improve study of public opinion, having stressed the enormous significance in this area of work with letters from working people to various government and public bodies and the activities of the mass information and propaganda media. This ensures further broadening of ties between the party and the worker masses, which run into the many millions, which is the main thing in organizational and political indoctrination work and a primary prerequisite for making correct decisions.

The dynamic nature of contemporary socioeconomic processes and spiritual and intellectual affairs in our society, consistent development of socialist democracy, and broadening of the domain and increasing the intensity of propaganda, which is called upon purposefully to influence every population group, each and every Soviet citizen -- all this increases the necessity of a genuinely scientific approach to study of public opinion. In connection with this statement of the question, we should particularly note the ever increasing practical significance of sociology. Putting it in more concrete terms, applicable to the Armed Forces, the scientific personnel of military educational institutions and army and navy research establishments working on military-sociological problems still owe results to commanders, political agencies and party organizations, which expect from scientists more practical recommendations, meeting today's demands, on methodology of studying public opinion in the subunit, unit, and on the naval ship.

Study of public opinion makes it possible to form an objective idea on the effectiveness of ideological indoctrination work, to determine its achievements

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and shortcomings, and to conduct Communist indoctrination of servicemen taking account of the actual level of their consciousness, interests and aspirations. A combined approach to ideological work, in an indissoluble unity with study of public opinion, makes it possible efficiently to adjust management of the indoctrination process through various channels and to correct the forms and methods of ideological influence on personnel.

As we know, the heart of all ideological indoctrination work is formation of a scientific ideological outlook in Soviet citizens and servicemen, total dedication to the cause of the party and Communist ideals, love toward the socialist homeland, and proletarian internationalism.

At the present stage one of the most important conditions for successful accomplishment of these tasks is thorough study and explanation within the military masses of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress as well as other congress materials in a close link with Armed Forces life and activities.

In the army and navy, just as in the country as a whole, work on dissemination of the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress began in the pre-congress period. It assumed an intensive nature during and especially after the congress. Political agencies efficiently briefed propagandist cadres for giving a skilled explanation of the Central Committee Accountability Report and other congress documents, and aggressively enlisted delegates to the party forum and experienced lecturers and propagandists to publicize these documents. Everywhere scheduled classes were held on the congress proceedings in all forms of personnel political instruction.

But all this is merely a first step. Assimilation of the ideas of the 26th CPSU Congress is a long-term process. It will be necessary to conduct painstaking work in order to focus the energy and initiative of the personnel of units and warships toward successful accomplishment of the tasks assigned by the party congress. This is the primary goal of all ideological activity in the army and navy.

It should be clear that the interests of increasing the effectiveness of ideological indoctrination work dictate the necessity of a more innovative attitude toward it, with bold rejection of everything which is inflexible and obsolete, which fails to correspond to the realities of the present and future, with persistent adoption of everything new and progressive engendered by theory and practice.

The problem of further improvement of the /system of ideological work/ existing in the Armed Forces is advanced to the forefront. The solution to this problem lies in filling the basic forms of ideological-political work with new, concrete content and increasing the methods skills of propagandist cadres and all army and navy officers.

The question of methodological skills of officers, their ability to draw correct conclusions from theory and independently to apply theoretical points to practical phenomena is very critical. It is therefore exceptionally important to achieve a

situation where classes in Marxist-Leninist training give officers not only knowledge but also develop in them the need to and skills of sharing this knowledge with others and utilizing it in their practical work. Such an approach to Marxist-Leninist training will ensure that all military cadres become deeply aware of the innovative character of the congress resolutions, the policy and activities of the party and its Central Committee.

Long-range thematic plans of /Marxist-Leninist officer training/ have been drawn up taking into account the necessity of a closer link between the problems of theory being studied and the practical tasks of military affairs. The principal efforts of officer personnel will be concentrated on comprehensive study of the ways to achieve further improvement of the economic, scientific, social, and moral-political elements of the combat potential of the Soviet Armed Forces. At the same time subject matter in the curricula pertaining to problems of the ideological struggle, the contemporary military-political situation in the world and in concrete theaters of military operations has been expanded, and the demands of the CPSU Central Committee for further intensification of the indoctrinational role of the Soviet Armed Forces have been reflected.

/Political instruction classes for enlisted personnel and noncommissioned officers/ are the most mass form of organized study of the congress resolutions and proceedings in the army and navy. Among the many conditions ensuring successful organization of this important and critical matter, we should specify training of group leaders. It is essential to bear in mind that two thirds of this category of propagandists occupy company and platoon commander slots, that is, they are young officers. The indoctrinator experience of the majority of these officers totals only two or three years. Even under the condition that 64 percent of political instruction group leaders possess higher education, their training requires the most serious and close attention on the part of political agencies. To ensure that each and every political instruction class is held in an interesting manner -- this task has been advanced by practical realities. Today's propagandist should be able to analyze, synthesize and comment on facts without bypassing, as was stressed in the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress, sensitive topics and without fearing to deal with so-called difficult questions. Of course discussion of critical topics is never easy. It requires a high degree of competence in understanding the class essence of phenomena and facts and the ability to expose lies and disinformation in a convincing manner. But for this reason the task of all those who carry to the masses the thoughts and ideas of the party and explain party policy is more honorable and responsible. Development of skills of answering difficult questions, convincing people, helping them form correct views on such questions is one of the most important conditions for growth of maturity of the ideological worker.

Equipment and facilities to assist the teaching process in the political training system are of great importance. A large number of pamphlets have been sent to the line units, containing the reports of comrades L. I. Brezhnev and N. A. Tikhonov at the 26th CPSU Congress, the "Main Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period up to 1990," as well as the collected volume "Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress." A number

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of manuals are available to assist in the political instruction of enlisted personnel and noncommissioned officers. Publication of a series of pamphlets to assist in the Marxist-Leninist training of officers on the seminar topics of all instructional curricula will continue. Folders of visual aids are being published. Methods materials are being published in journals to assist the teaching process, and filmstrips and short training films are being produced. Now it is a matter of more actively utilizing this powerful source of knowledge in daily activities.

Of course dissemination and explanation of the congress proceedings and all ideological-indoctrination work cannot be limited merely to official forms of political training. It is essential more actively to employ the entire rich arsenal of ideological work and influence on personnel, including the reading of series of lectures on items discussed in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report, and the holding of theoretical conferences and discussions, specific-topic evenings and get-togethers with congress delegates, party veterans, officials of local party, soviet and economic agencies, and leading-performance workers in industry and agriculture.

More extensive utilization of the /mass information and propaganda media/ is extremely important, as is development in personnel of the ability correctly and rapidly to become oriented in the vast and diversified flow of information. To achieve this it is obviously necessary, first of all, more efficiently to utilize radio and television broadcasts intended for servicemen. It is important to change the notion, which still occurs in some places, of television broadcasts solely as a means of amusement and recreation. Secondly, it is necessary to work even more actively to incorporate newspapers, magazines and books in the daily lives of servicemen. It is an urgent task to form in personnel the ability to perform independent studies with published materials, the ability not only to cognize the new but also to formulate for oneself concrete practical conclusions in order to utilize them in the process of performance of duties.

It is also necessary, however, to examine the problem of utilization of the mass propaganda and information media in ideological-indoctrination work from another aspect -- from the viewpoint of further improvement of the activities of our military press. Responsible tasks for the military press proceed from the resolutions and materials of the 26th CPSU Congress and from the 26 April 1979 CPSU Central Committee decree. It is necessary to achieve a situation whereby army and navy press entities become a genuine forum of public opinion for Communists, Komsomol members, and all Armed Forces personnel.

It is important that political agencies more purposefully guide the work of the staffs of /newspapers and journals,/ going more deeply into their productive activities, and inform journalists in a timely manner on the most important party and government decisions, assigning them concrete tasks, and helping them improve not only the content but also the layout of publications. One should also bear in mind that the effectiveness of the press is secured by truthfulness, well-reasoned argumentation, and current significance of published materials, and by the ability to focus heat on errors of omission

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and deficiencies and to concentrate efforts on affirmation of the new and progressive.

The resolutions and materials of the 26th CPSU Congress define the main directions of ideological activity of army and navy political agencies and party organizations. One of the main conditions for the success of this activity is a Leninist work style by ideological cadres. To work in this style means not only to ensure and plan effective organization of ideological-indoctrinational activity among servicemen but also constantly to be at the heart of this work, to monitor its actual results, and to respond to the growing intellectual aspirations of personnel.

In accomplishing ideological tasks, one should more actively seek to ensure that each and every party organization is in fact a genuine center of daily ideological-indoctrination activity. Success in such an important realm of party-political work is inconceivable without this. It is an important, critical task constantly and in a practical manner to teach the secretaries of party committees and bureaus the skill of organizing ideological-indoctrination work in party organizations and in military collectives.

Each and every party worker, each and every Communist must learn to be an aggressive fighter on the ideological front, must learn, to quote V. I. Lenin, "conscious selection of means, techniques, and methods of struggle capable of producing the greatest and firmest results with the least expenditure of resources."

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], page 63.
2. Ibid., page 77.
3. Ibid., page 53.
4. Ibid., page 75.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., pp 9-10.
7. Ibid., pp 76-77.
8. Ibid., page 67.
9. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," [Complete Works], Vol 41, page 305.
10. "Materialy....," op. cit., page 57.
11. Ibid., page 77.
12. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 44, page 348.

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**Chapter Three. SCHOOL OF LIFE, SCHOOL OF INDOCTRINATION**

Success in indoctrinating the new man, it was noted at the 26th Congress of the Leninist party, is ensured only when it rests on the firm foundation of socio-economic policy. Party ideological work improves and its many areas and domains are reorganized precisely on this foundation, in the most direct, living link with accomplishment of the diversified urgent tasks of building communism and strengthening our country's defense. In other words, the point is to achieve full utilization of the increased material and spiritual capabilities of Soviet reality, including military service, in the interests of forming an ideologically convinced, conscientious and skilled defender of the homeland.

Dedication on the part of Soviet servicemen to the ideals of the Leninist party and the socialist homeland is formed under the influence of military service proper. Of course our army and navy were not specially created for indoctrinating youth. They are an instrument of defense of the socialist homeland against any aggression. At the same time one of the most important preconditions for successful accomplishment of this task is indoctrination of personnel in a spirit of profound Communist conviction, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, a high degree of morality and discipline. Formation of the spiritual countenance of the defender of the homeland presupposes indoctrination of a citizen-warrior, an active fighter for the cause of communism, willing and able to carry out a combat order at any cost. It is in this sense that we speak of the indoctrinational role of the Soviet Army and Navy and service in the military as a school of life and indoctrination.

Comprising a military organization of the socialist type, our army and navy by necessity have always occupied a prominent place in the lives of Soviet citizens and their Communist indoctrination. "The Red Army trains not only fighting men; the Red Army is a school of socialism for millions of peasants and workers" — this was the party's appraisal of our army's indoctrinational role 10 years after its establishment.

In conditions of developed socialism the indoctrinational role of the Soviet Armed Forces has grown and become enriched with new content. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted: "Young men enter the military family without having experienced the school of life. But they return from the army with maturity,

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having attended the school of self-mastery and discipline, having acquired technical, occupational knowledge and political training."<sup>1</sup>

The complexity and conflictive nature of the international situation, the vital importance of maintaining a continuous state of combat readiness, and aggravation of the ideological struggle in the world arena increased demands on indoctrinational work in the Armed Forces. The CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Indoctrination Work" stresses the necessity of further improving indoctrination of the Soviet serviceman as a selfless defender of the homeland, a genuine citizen, patriot, and internationalist.

#### 1. Objective Factors of Indoctrination

The present world situation is complex and conflictive. As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, an intensive struggle between ideological directions is taking place in world politics. On the one hand we have a side advocating peace between people. It is represented by the USSR, the other nations of the socialist community, and progressive forces throughout the world. On the other hand, there is the side advocating preparations for another world war, undermining détente, escalation of the arms race, and a policy of threats and interference in the affairs of others and suppression of the liberation struggle. This side is represented by the United States, by the NATO countries, which follow at the heels of U.S. policy, and other enemies of peace and cooperation. These forces are expanding military production, are increasing appropriations for building increasingly more destructive weaponry, and are attempting to convince the people of their countries that a nuclear war can be limited, seeking to have people accept the idea of the admissibility of such a war. A dangerous focal point of international tension is also being created as a result of the hegemonist aspirations of the present Chinese leaders.

The Communist Party and Soviet Government, carefully analyzing development of the international situation, do not for a single day forget matters pertaining to strengthening national defense and the combat power of our Armed Forces.

Considering the increased responsibility of the Soviet Army and Navy for the security of the homeland, military councils, commanders, political agencies, party and Komsomol organizations are directing their efforts toward ensuring continuous growth of the political consciousness of personnel and a deep understanding by servicemen of their great responsibility for the security of the homeland and defense of the achievements of socialism. Loyalty to the ideals of communism impels the defenders of the homeland conscientiously to master modern military affairs, vigilantly to guard the great building process which is taking place throughout our country and the revolutionary achievements of socialism, and to be prepared at all times to defeat any aggressor. In the last five years thousands of military personnel have been awarded USSR medals and decorations for exemplary performance of the tasks assigned by command authorities and for successes in combat and political training and mastery of new equipment.

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A number of objective factors foster strengthening of the indoctrinational role of the Armed Forces. /Development of the social-class structure/ of our society is the most important of these. In recent years there has been continuation of the drawing together of the classes and social groups comprising our society. As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, our aim is creation of a society in which people will not be divided into classes. And we can state quite definitely that we are advancing slowly but surely toward this great objective.

All the societal characteristics of our classes and social groups are changing particularly appreciably in conditions of developed socialism. Levels of material prosperity, housing and home conditions, the psychology and cultural level of persons belonging to different social strata of the socialist society are drawing closer together on the basis of growth. All this is beneficially reflected in the quality of Armed Forces personnel.

Steady improvement in the material and spiritual living conditions of Soviet citizens promotes development of new traditions and conceptions. Joint labor by the members of society, their daily participation in management of governmental and societal affairs, and development of Communist relations, comradesly cooperation and mutual support are leading to transformation of people's consciousness in a spirit of collectivism, industry and humanism. A community of root interests and drawing together of the living conditions of classes and social groups objectively promote the formation and development in all members of our society and members of the Armed Forces of common sociopsychological traits, such as pride in the socialist system, hatred toward its enemies, and an aspiration to accomplish feats for the sake of the interests of the homeland.

Development of good citizenship in military personnel is promoted by their active participation in sociopolitical affairs. All Soviet military personnel -- veterans and newcomers, commanders and subordinates -- are full-fledged citizens of our country. They enjoy all the sociopolitical rights guaranteed by the USSR Constitution. Thousands of representatives of the army and navy have been elected as deputies to soviets or members of rayon, city, oblast, kray, republic and central party bodies.

An important factor in enhancing the indoctrinational role of army and navy service is further strengthening of the unity of army and people. In conditions of developed socialism it has become deeper and has become filled with new content. Soviet citizens display constant concern for furnishing the army and navy with modern weapons and combat equipment, as well as preparing young people for military service. A great deal of work is being done in the cities and villages to develop in the younger generation a Communist ideological outlook, patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and constant readiness and willingness to defend the homeland. An orderly system of preparing reliable defenders of the homeland has formed in the process of joint activities of party and Komsomol organizations and ideological establishments with military commissariats, agencies of public and vocational-technical education, DOSAAF, and political agencies of military units.

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Worthy replacements are entering the army and navy. The weapons and combat equipment with which units and naval ships are equipped are in reliable hands. Soviet servicemen are people of a new, socialist system, indoctrinated by the Leninist party and by the entire Soviet way of life in a spirit of loyalty to the homeland and revolutionary ideals. Approximately 90 percent of army and navy personnel are Communists and Komsomol members. Virtually all conscripts possess secondary or incomplete secondary education, while a significant percentage enter military service with a higher education.

In light of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, consideration of the specific features of young people as a social-age group within our society and the individual qualities of each young man is of great importance. Comprehensive study of military personnel according to their social status prior to military service, education, and habits of organization developed prior to induction is very helpful for enhancing the indoctrinational role of military service. Young men enter military service with already formed character traits, determined by the social qualities they have formed at home, in the school, on the job, and in the Komsomol organization. Everything acquired prior to military service is subjected in the army to a rigorous test of strength and maturity. At the same time the process of forming moral-political qualities and labor conditioning in young people continues in the army and navy with even greater intensity. Study of the general educational and cultural level and psychological features of young servicemen entering the army from the various social strata of our society and from the various parts of our country makes it possible to increase the indoctrinational influence of military service. Commanders, political agencies, party and Komsomol organizations, studying the life experience of each serviceman, his character and propensities, help him overcome the difficulties which he encounters in transitioning from civilian life to military service.

Enhancement of the indoctrinational role of military service is also fostered by the objective circumstance that citizens of /all nationalities and ethnic groups in the USSR/ are carrying out their sacred duty to defend the socialist homeland. The Soviet Armed Forces, which are multinational in composition, constitute a unified nationwide military organization of all brother union republics, all nationalities and ethnic groups in the USSR. The Communist Party and Soviet Government are continuously concerned for equality of rights and obligations of all citizens, regardless of nationality, and performance of military duty by these citizens.

The entire tenor of life in the Soviet Armed Forces is permeated with a spirit of internationalism. Joint labor brings together servicemen of different nationalities in military service and indoctrinates them in a spirit of military comradeship, and promotes their ideological, spiritual and cultural mutual enrichment.

Servicemen as a rule are stationed other than in their own republic, kray, or oblast. Commanders, political agencies, local party and Komsomol agencies seek to ensure that intercourse between the personnel of units, naval ships, and brother peoples and acquaintance with their culture, ways, customs and

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traditions help form internationalist awareness in military personnel. Indoctrination of military personnel in a spirit of fraternal friendship is promoted by the entire system of training and indoctrination work and organization of the entire life and activities of the multinational military collectives.

Of course it would be a simplification to assume that matters pertaining to indoctrinating personnel in a spirit of friendship among peoples are resolved automatically. Joint military labor per se does not form internationalist awareness, views, or attitude. In connection with this there arise tasks of strengthening the internationalist indoctrination of servicemen, consideration of the ethnic composition of a given unit and subunit in propaganda and agitation, and conduct of work with individual servicemen taking into account their ethnic features.

The main thing in working on internationalist solidarity of servicemen is a profound explanation of the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism and our party's Leninist nationalities policy. An important role in assimilation by servicemen of theory and CPSU policy in the area of ethnic relations is played by well-organized political instruction classes and political information sessions. Lenin readings, republic days, radio and television broadcasts, and get-togethers with distinguished individuals, heroes of labor and combat -- all means and forms of ideological work make it possible actively to form the spiritual countenance of the Soviet servicemen -- a patriot and internationalist.

Personnel show lively interest in the works of Soviet writers and in our multinational culture. Guidance of reading by servicemen is an important area in indoctrinating them in a spirit of friendship of peoples.

Loyal to the glorious traditions of class solidarity of the working people of all countries, Soviet servicemen serve with honor in forces temporarily stationed on the territory of the brother peoples of Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. At the present time there is a limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, helping the Afghan people repulse imperialist aggression.

Performance of internationalist duty engenders and strengthens in the consciousness of Soviet servicemen feelings of solidarity with the working people of other countries. A good memory of them remains wherever they help our friends defend revolutionary achievements against the encroachments of imperialist reaction.

The difficulties of army and navy service and the high degree of intensity of combat training demand of each and every serviceman a maximum output of resources and energy. Appropriate living conditions have been created for regenerating expended energy, which also promotes enhancement of the /indoctrinational role of military service./ The requisite material and technical foundation of food and clothing supply services has been established in the units and fleets, a smoothly-running supply system is in operation, and units and naval ships are furnished with modern equipment enabling them to mechanize and automate processing of foodstuffs and the process of meal preparation.

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A distinctive feature of off-duty military life lies in the fact that for the most part it is created by the hands of the servicemen themselves. Much in the arrangement of handling their daily needs depends on their innovativeness and initiative, as well as on the significance which party and Komsomol organizations attach to this important matter. Providing the conditions of everyday life does not tolerate callousness and cold indifference, but demands search and the ability sensitively to listen to people's desires, to the phenomena and processes taking place in the Armed Forces.

Military councils, commanders, political agencies and party organizations view their task as continuously improving material and living conditions for personnel and ensuring observance of precise organization of the workday, rest and recreation. In spite of the severity and rigorousness of conditions in the military, it is necessary constantly to seek to ensure that there is plenty of warmth, light and comfort in the barracks, that they offer a real home to the soldier, comprising a center of intercourse and cohesion of servicemen into a single fighting family.

## 2. Indoctrinational Role of Military Labor

Enormous influence is exerted on the spiritual development of Soviet servicemen in the process of their Communist indoctrination by military labor proper which, in conditions of developed socialism, is correctly viewed as a specific variant of societal labor. Its specific features are dictated first and foremost by constitutional provisions -- the USSR Fundamental Law defines military service in the ranks of the Armed Forces as the honorable obligation of Soviet citizens, and defense of the socialist homeland as their sacred duty.

As regards the content side of military labor, as a result of the enormous influence of scientific and technological advances on military affairs, which have resulted in the development of weapons of unprecedented power and technical complexity, this labor has undergone quite substantial changes. The new mechanisms of warfare which developed have demanded radical changes in the forms and modes of conduct of combat operations. The methods of preparing personnel for combat activities have also changed.

The material foundation for training and indoctrination of Soviet servicemen is characterized today first and foremost by a high degree of saturation with systems of devices corresponding to the latest advances in science and technology. In other words, today's army and navy armament is distinguished by a high degree of technical complexity, while practical realities affirm intensification of military labor as an objective pattern and the objective consequence of the development of weapons and combat equipment.

The existing system, forms and methods of organization of military labor in the army and navy basically correspond to the contemporary stage of development of military affairs and party demands for enhancing the indoctrinational role of military service, to the interests of preparing staunch, courageous defenders of the socialist homeland and the tasks of ensuring conditions of peace for building communism. The entire tenor of life in the subunits, units and on naval ships actively fosters practical implementation of the Leninist precept

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that Soviet citizens should be indoctrinated from youth in conscientious and disciplined labor.

The great social significance of Soviet military labor, the principal meaning of which consists in guaranteeing the security of the homeland, defines its great indoctrinational capabilities. Strict regimentation of all actions, considerable stress, and the necessity of constant subordination of the efforts of each individual serviceman to prior-assigned and unexpectedly arising tasks -- these important aspects of army and navy life, together with the inspiration of the entire process of military service and its lofty goals form in people courage, efficiency, persistence, tenacity, initiative, and discipline.

And the aims of military labor in a socialist army are exceptionally noble. Therefore a serviceman's constant readiness to carry out a combat order constitutes the main moral criterion of service in the Armed Forces.

In this connection we should once again emphasize the necessity of appraising the effectiveness of all party-political and indoctrinational work primarily on the basis of people's attitude toward military labor and toward performing their military service obligations. Such an approach makes it possible to see clearly how the demands of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 26 April 1979 CPSU Central Committee decree on stepping up the indoctrinational role of army and navy service by each and every commander and political worker, by every party organization are being carried out.

Military exercises, live missile firings, flight operations, alert duty, and cruises by submarines and surface warships in the World Ocean are of special indoctrinational significance, particularly in the area of high moral-political and psychological conditioning of servicemen. Precisely in these types of activities by troops and naval forces, where psychological models of battles are created, is engendered that most valuable experience which in peacetime conditions gives a precise idea of how training and indoctrination of personnel should be accomplished so that it maximally corresponds to the demands of combat operations in present-day conditions.

Military and fleet exercises constitute the highest degree of excellence of morale-fighting qualities and moral conditioning of the personnel of units and warships. The largest-scale exercises conducted in recent years became a unique army and navy accountability report to the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Government, and to the entire people on levels achieved in improving combat readiness. In the course of these exercises the men demonstrated their ability to withstand severe psychological and physical stresses and skillfully to utilize weapons and combat equipment, and gained skills in mobilizing forces for achieving victory in battle against a powerful adversary.

It is essential to utilize every bit of this experience to improve indoctrinational work in the units and on naval ships. Commanders, political agencies and staffs should be permeated with a high degree of responsibility to ensure that when elaborating the tasks of field, air and sea proficiency the dynamics of combat actions and party-political work correspond, both fundamentally and

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in detail, to the character of contemporary war. This will make it possible for leaders of military collectives and party-political activists to analyze with a high degree of accuracy the potential and actual consequences of their correct or erroneous actions and to ensure the instructiveness and requisite indoctrinational effect of training activities.

The indoctrinational role of military labor is manifested fully only when this labor is scientifically organized, when it is secured in a material-organizational and moral-political regard. It follows from this that questions pertaining to strengthening political influence at headquarters, control agencies, and among all categories of leader cadres assume particular importance in light of the resolutions and materials of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Successful application, in training and indoctrinating servicemen, of the scientific principles which take into account the demands of today's combat engagement, /the recommendations of military education science and psychology,/ effective utilization of the invaluable experience of the Great Patriotic War and the experience amassed in the army and navy in the postwar years and during the period of incorporation of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution depends chiefly on army and navy leader cadres.

It is important to ensure that each measure to support the training process, each and every training activity is an example of a political approach to things. As we know, the task of training consists not only in developing in servicemen habits of skilled actions and efficient employment of weapons and equipment in today's combat. Leaders of military collectives should, in the course of improving the combat skills of personnel, make every effort to strengthen in the men their awareness that military labor is just as valued by the people, just as essential to our society as the labor of the worker, kolkhoz farmer, and intellectual, that this labor is a matter of glory, valor and heroism, for it is connected with guaranteeing the security of the world's first socialist state and the entire socialist community.

The task of general affirmation of conscientious, productive labor is today advancing to the forefront. The forming of a new man, his ideological conditioning, and affirmation of the standards and principles of the socialist way of life define the necessity of skilled, precise selection in indoctrinational work of everything new and progressive which should be supported and developed, of a tenacious, consistent struggle against that which impedes our forward movement.

In the course of a precisely organized training process, to which unnecessary relaxation of demands and unnecessary simplifications are alien, favorable conditions are created for forming in people a feeling of collectivism and development of a striving toward mutual assistance in battle. Indoctrination of personnel in a spirit of /military comradeship/ has been and will continue to be one of the most important tasks of commanders, political agencies, and party organizations.

There is an enormous indoctrinational and moral potential in /socialist competition,/ which today embraces practically all realms of military activity.

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As follows from the resolutions and materials of the 26th CPSU Congress, maximum realization of all the possibilities contained within this mass patriotic movement of Soviet servicemen is essential.

A wealth of experience has been amassed in the practice of socialist competition in the Armed Forces. At the same time the search for even more effective forms and methods of mobilizing personnel for the campaign to achieve stable high results in combat training continues to remain an important task. Main efforts must be concentrated on developing in every possible way the military activeness of servicemen and their creative initiative. It is necessary to bring propaganda and the adoption of advanced know-how to the level of today's party demands, in order to draw up lagging personnel on the basis of this know-how and to stimulate further improvement of the combat skill of personnel.

Requiring special attention in this regard is the experience of those units which are initiators of socialist competition in the branches of service, in the districts, groups of forces, and the fleets. It is necessary to ensure that the daily practical activities of the initiators is a genuine creative laboratory of advanced know-how in personnel training and indoctrination and in inducing personnel to achieve exemplary performance of their filial duty as defenders of the homeland and resolving of problems of development of the personality and character of the Soviet serviceman, his political, moral, and cultural growth.

Each and every commander and political worker, each and every party activist is obliged to adhere rigorously and consistently to the fundamental thesis stated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev: "Counterplans and other such initiatives should be regarded as paramount, following a line 'from bottom to top': worker, brigade, enterprise, branch."<sup>2</sup> Applied to army and navy conditions this means that drafting of personnel pledges should begin at the lowest, primary levels of military collectives, so that personnel have an acute sense of their responsibility for achieving the targeted performance levels. The party views this as one of the most important indoctrination potentials of competition.

Socialist competition is first and foremost competition among individuals and collectives, sanctified by patriotism. For this reason formalism and the slightest departure from Leninist principles of organization of competition is particularly intolerable in such an inspired activity. To utilize its indoctrinational potential effectively means to ensure broad publicity, reliable operation of a system of comparability of results, and publicity of experts in military affairs. Dissemination of the finest examples of military labor and practical adoption of advanced know-how in all military collectives also is an effective form of ideological, military and moral indoctrination of personnel and the campaign against shortcomings.

Carrying out the task of enhancing the indoctrinational role of military labor, special emphasis must be placed on improving its organization and unswerving observance of the demands of military regulations, manuals, orders and directives.

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3. Discipline as a Factor of Indoctrination

Reliable defense of the achievements of socialism and diversified activities of military personnel, directed toward all-out improvement of the combat readiness of units and warships -- everything comprised within the term "military labor," requires exceptionally high discipline, efficiency and initiative on the part of personnel, their readiness and willingness to carry out an order at any price.

The increased importance of discipline on the part of Soviet servicemen in present-day conditions is due to a number of objective factors.

They include, first of all, /the social importance of military labor/ for the fate of the homeland and the entire socialist community of brother peoples. One must consider the fact that aggressive imperialist forces, undermining international détente, are continuing arms escalation, are expanding and strengthening military bases, and are creating a threat to the socialist countries and developing nations born on the rubble of former imperialist colonies.

The necessity of further improvement of organization of performance of duty and discipline of Soviet servicemen is dictated, secondly, by the rapid development of military affairs and, as was already noted, by the extensive adoption of the latest weapons and combat equipment in the line units. Practical realities demand that the technical knowledgeability of today's defender of the homeland and his military expertise coalesce on the basis of a high degree of conscientiousness and discipline.

More stringent demands on discipline are dictated, in the third place, by the increasing complexity of the content of military activities and intensification of the process of training and indoctrination of personnel. The entire army and navy regimen of duty and off-duty activities, which is in full conformity with the points of military regulations, is called upon comprehensively to discipline training and indoctrination of servicemen.

Military service, if it is organized correctly, day by day and hour by hour polishes the facets of the character of the individual Soviet serviceman, as it were. The serviceman develops excellent moral qualities -- honesty, truthfulness, vigilance, preciseness and resoluteness of actions, the endeavor to and habits of carrying out orders swiftly, on schedule -- that is, all those qualities which make a person military disciplined.

It is primarily a deep understanding of the societal significance of these demands and a feeling of personal responsibility for the security of the homeland and the achievements of socialism which impels the Soviet serviceman to execute rigorously and precisely the demands of the military oath and regulations, orders issued by commanders and other superiors. "The Red Army," stressed V. I. Lenin, "has created unprecedentedly firm discipline not under the lash but on the basis of conscientiousness, dedication, and self-sacrifice on the part of the workers and peasants themselves."<sup>3</sup>

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Military discipline in our army is one of the forms of socialist state discipline, the question of which was so acutely stated at the 26th CPSU Congress. The societal relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance by working people who are free of exploitation are reflected in Soviet military discipline. The mutual relations of commanders and the rank and file, superiors and subordinates, veterans and newcomers are developed in our military on the basis of a unity of root interests, on a community of political conditions and moral principles on the part of all military personnel -- representatives of the worker class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the Soviet intelligentsia.

Conscious discipline presupposes composure and precision in a person's actions. Much here depends on those habits with which a young man entered the army or navy. Positive habits greatly assist a young soldier and make his service easier. Such an obligation as exemplary performance of military duty will not seem difficult to a person who taught himself, prior to induction into the army, to do every job swiftly and conscientiously. It will be easy for a young man who is accustomed to being polite at all times to assimilate such a demand of military discipline as showing respect to commanders and superiors, and strict observance of the rules of military courtesy and saluting. If a person is accustomed to tell the truth at all times, naturally he will properly perceive the demand of discipline that he be honest and truthful.

Of course young servicemen may also have negative habits, but awareness of the necessity of subordinating oneself to the demands of military discipline will make it possible to eliminate these habits in short order.

I should like to stress the following. Discipline is a moral trait. It includes a broader concept than simply obedience, execution and precision. We call disciplined in our society a person for whom order and regimentation of activities are important as a means of successful performance of one's societal duty. In short, it is a person who sincerely strives for the common cause and who does not wait for additional instructions if he sees that it is necessary to act independently.

Disciplined conduct is mandatorily linked with the necessity of possessing the ability at any time to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the interests of society. Discipline presupposes continuous self-indoctrination, in the process of which a person develops control over himself, as it were, over his desires and feelings. Such self-discipline is a deeply perceived necessity of acting at all times and in all things in strict conformity with the demands of the military oath and regulations, an inner need to act as they command.

It proceeds directly from the resolutions and materials of the 26th CPSU Congress that a decisive role in indoctrination of disciplined, efficient servicemen is played by the one-man commander, who bears personal responsibility to the Communist Party and Soviet Government for the continuous combat readiness of the unit and subunit, and who organizes the daily routine, off-duty activities, training and combat activities of his subordinates. Constant /commander demandingness/ teaches a serviceman to be composed, smart of

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appearance, and ready for action. Substantial positive changes are taking place in the character of the young man under its daily influence.

The Soviet commander, imposing the demands of regulations on a subordinate, is obliged at all times to take into consideration his capabilities and degree of mastery of military affairs and his occupational specialty. The experienced officer and noncommissioned officer will never demand of the young soldier that which he can demand of the more highly trained individual.

Genuinely paternal /concern/ for the soldier and sailor is an important condition for maintaining a high degree of military discipline. Demanding and at the same time solicitous, sensitive and attentive to soldiers' needs, the commander enjoys the love and respect of his subordinates and seeks to achieve optimal results in training and indoctrination. Our commander should not treat certain men better than others. His demandingness is identical toward all subordinates. Nothing -- neither friendly relations or even blood kinship -- should serve as a reason for any special treatment of a subordinate.

Commander demandingness develops in servicemen a feeling of responsibility for the assigned job, for precise and faultless performance of service duties, orders and instructions. Thus it promotes the forming in personnel of habits of disciplined behavior and helps correct character deficiencies.

The indoctrinational role of demandingness is secured by the fact that one-man commanders display demandingness constantly and continuously. The Disciplinary Regulations state: "The interests of defense of the homeland oblige the commander (superior) resolutely and firmly to demand observance of military discipline and order and that not a single breach of regulations by a subordinate be ignored." The very fact of mandatory execution of each and every order and practical actions connected with that order exert great influence on the consciousness of the serviceman. One should not assume, however, that it is sufficient merely to issue orders in order to ensure that discipline in the subunit and unit is always strong. The campaign for observance of regulations, a high degree of organization and military discipline is primarily the indoctrination of an individual who will perform his duties responsibly, with initiative and innovatively, who keenly supports the performance of his military collective.

No army other than that of a socialist state possesses such a powerful moral principle as /collectivism./ The courageous love of the Soviet serviceman toward his homeland grows and becomes strengthened only in a collective unified by the lofty goals of defending the achievements of socialism. He is indoctrinated as a consistent internationalist only in the collective.

The function of the military collective is combat. It operates under the laws of the military oath and regulations, which are permeated with Communist ideological content and the collectivist morality of our society and the army of a new type. The Internal Service Regulations of the USSR Armed Forces state: "The serviceman shall... value military comradeship, assist his comrades by word and deed, keep them from committing unworthy actions and, with no thought for his own life, shall rescue them from danger."

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Two functions are inherent in the military collective. First of all, practically all service activities of military personnel are carried out within it. Secondly, the collective ensures the development of correct mutual relations among personnel.

Loyalty to comradeship is highly valued in any realm of Soviet life. But this noble tradition is especially highly prized by members of the Armed Forces. The aggregate of reasons for this outstanding characteristic contains the very specifics of military service and the nature of the tasks assigned the armed defenders of the homeland. In a combat situation, when standing duty, including combat alert duty, and during a blue-water cruise -- the knowledge that a comrade is near, that one can count on him, his assistance and support, are essential elements of military service.

Contemporary war immeasurably increases the importance of unity of the military collective and coordination of all elements of the subunit and unit. Complex weaponry and the modes of its employment have demanded unification of personnel, weapons and combat equipment into various systems, the elements of which are mutually dependent on one another, and frequently separated by great distances. Sometimes the success of an entire system depends on an individual element.

The indoctrinational force of the Soviet military collective lies in its democratic nature. Its structure of service-positions is supplemented by ties among personnel along lines of party, Komsomol, propagandist, and mass cultural work.

The party organization in the military collective is its cementing force, its source of spiritual energy and political nucleus. Therefore enormous meaning is contained in the demand of the 26th CPSU Congress and CPSU Central Committee decree dated 26 April 1979 which states that primary party organizations and groups shall become genuine /centers of daily ideological indoctrinational activity./ Of prime significance here is concern to ensure further increase in activeness and aggressiveness in the work of party organizations at all echelons, consistent development of intraparty democracy, strengthening of the influence of party organizations on improving the system of indoctrination and placement of cadres, and increasing the responsibility of party members for the assigned task. It is advisable to increase attention toward verifying execution of party decisions, to increase demandingness on Communists for their personal exemplariness in training and service, to work persistently to develop criticism and self-criticism, and to seek to ensure that each and every Communist is an ideologically convinced and active party fighter and demonstrates an example of discipline and creative initiative. Party organizations are called upon to appraise in a more principled manner both successes and deficiencies in training and service, and to be more strictly demanding on Communists for their work in the masses, especially among youth.

It is important to take concrete measures which ensure further cohesion of military collectives and improvement of indoctrinational work directly in the subunits. In this connection one should specify measures to improve the pedagogic skills of officers, warrant officers, and noncommissioned officers,

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and more vigorously to enlist the army and navy community to combat violations of military regulations, lack of discipline, and deviations from standards of Communist morality. Each and every officer and Communist should serve as an example of excellent organization and moral purity and should demand this of others.

Komsomol organizations work side by side with army and navy Communists in all areas which determine the combat readiness of subunits, naval ships, and units, and the cohesion of military collectives. In their work they utilize their endowed right of broad initiative in discussing and raising before commanders, political agencies and party organizations questions connected with improving indoctrination of young army and navy personnel, organization of their off-duty daily routine, rest and recreation. Party organizations must exercise daily guidance of the work of Komsomol organizations pertaining to the Communist indoctrination of army and navy youth, who comprise three fourths of all Soviet military personnel.

The concern of army and navy party organizations for further enhancing the indoctrinational role of the Soviet Armed Forces should be directed primarily toward all-out cohesion of military collectives. Each and every party member should be focused toward this. Any and all, even the most complex combat missions are within the capabilities of a cohesive, smoothly functioning military collective.

FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Na strazhe mira i sotsializma" [Guarding Peace and Socialism], Moscow, 1979, page 435.
2. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], page 58.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 38, page 240.

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CONCLUSION

The ideas of the 26th CPSU Congress, capturing the masses, are becoming an increasingly more powerful creative force. The social activeness of Soviet citizens and army and navy personnel, who are implementing the plans specified at this Leninist party forum, is growing under their influence.

The proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress, its resolutions, and the unanimous reelection of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, evoked an exceptionally strong surge of patriotic enthusiasm among military personnel. Enthusiastically approving of the points and conclusions contained in the Central Committee Accountability Report to the party congress and the new, grandiose plans of building communism elaborated at the congress, the defenders of the Soviet homeland are intensifying their efforts to increase combat readiness.

Loyalty to the ideas of the party and the heroic fame of our fathers and grandfathers impels army and navy personnel conscientiously to master modern military affairs and vigilantly to guard the great building activities which are taking place throughout our country and the revolutionary achievements of socialism, and to be prepared at all times to defeat any aggressor. The high appraisal of the combat potential of the Armed Forces, given by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the party congress, is the finest testimonial to our military cadres, army and navy party organizations, and all Soviet servicemen, who are worthily carrying out their historic mission. The Armed Forces delegation solemnly assured the party and people from the congress rostrum that Soviet servicemen are on the alert at all times. The potent weapons which the homeland has entrusted to them are in reliable and skilled hands.

The fighting ranks of the Armed Forces are monolithic and powerful. Party ideological work constitutes a powerful means of further increasing their combat potential. Through the entire wealth of its content and diversity of means and methods, it develops in army and navy personnel a high degree of political consciousness, the aspiration, will and ability to defend the people's revolutionary achievements.

The most important thing today in party-political work in the army and navy is to communicate to the consciousness and heart of each and every serviceman the great meaning and historic significance of the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress and to embody them in concrete deeds for the benefit of our homeland. The actual contribution of our ideological activists toward further increasing the combat readiness of the Soviet Army and Navy consists in seeking to ensure that a spirit of Bolshevik principledness and creative activeness is affirmed in the life of each and every military collective and in instilling an implacable attitude toward errors of omission in combat and political training and intolerance toward any and all deviations from the demands of regulations and the standards of Communist morality.



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All the successes of the Soviet people in building communism and in strengthening our country's economic and defense might and its international prestige are inseparably linked with strengthening the leadership role of the CPSU in the developed socialist society. Total dedication to the ideas of the Leninist party constitutes the deepest and most reliable source of selfless service by Soviet military personnel to the socialist homeland and their constant combat readiness to defend the building of communism and to preserve world peace.

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